HOW IS THE PROFESSIONALISM OF SUPPLY TEACHERS CONSTRUCTED IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES?

T A FACCHIN

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HOW IS THE PROFESSIONALISM OF SUPPLY TEACHERS CONSTRUCTED IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES?

TAVIA ANN FACCHIN

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Abstract

This thesis critically explores perceptions of professionalism around supply teachers. Investigating contemporary education policy as experienced by, and formed about, those working on the margins of education offers significant insights into how notions of identity and status (including my own as a supply teacher) are perceived during times of change.

The onset and continuing impact of the 2008 recession, combined with the 2010 election of the first coalition government in the UK for decades, set the research against a dynamic socio-economic backdrop that saw changes introduced throughout the public sector, including education. Changes to education policy in both school provision (the introduction of academies and free schools) and workforce remodelling, provide the context for the research, as drivers of education centred around productivity, efficiency and alleged freedom of choice become the norm for stakeholders in education.

A qualitative and interpretive approach via semi-structured interviews enabled the collection of rich data whilst post-structural theoretical concepts were drawn upon to further analyse the data in an attempt to understand the dynamics, and contribution, of power and knowledge in the formation of discourses circulating around the supply teacher. Exploring notions of professionalism from the margins offers important critical insights into the discursive positioning of supply teachers with regard to professional identity. An investigation of how individuals negotiate the discursive gap highlights how supply teachers get bound up in the complexity of numerous and often competing discourses at both macro- and micro-level.

From this, the thesis aims to highlight how, despite their marginal positioning, supply teachers remain an important part of the wider teaching cohort.

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I am also appreciative of the participants of the research, without whom none of this would have been possible.

Finally, I dedicate this work to the memory of my mum for her unfaltering love and pride in all my achievements:

'Betty Ewen' (1931–2015)

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Abbreviations

ATL	Association of Teachers and Lecturers
AWR	Agency Workers Regulations
BERA	British Education Research Association
CPD	continuing professional development
DfE	Department for Education (UK)
DfES	Department for Education and Skills (UK)
FTE	full-time equivalent
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GTC	General Teaching Council (UK)
HLTA	higher-level teaching assistant
INSET	in-service education and training
IT	information technology
LEA	local education authority (UK)
NASUWT	National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers
NQT	newly qualified teacher
NUT	National Union of Teachers
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
PISA	Programme of International Student Assessment
PPA	planning, preparation and assessment
PRP	performance-related pay
PSE	personal and social education
QTS	qualified teacher status
REC	Recruitment and Employment Confederation
SEN	special educational needs

SIMS	School Information Management System
STRB	School Teachers Review Body (Department for Education and Skills (UK)
TA	teaching assistant
TES	*Times Educational Supplement*
TPS	Teachers' Pension Scheme

Chapter 1: An Introduction to the Area of Research

> *Technology is just a tool. In terms of getting the kids working together and motivating them, the teacher is the most important.* Gates (cited in Rao, 2012: online)

'Are you a real teacher, Miss?'

The research area for this thesis, which forms Part B of the Doctor of Education qualification, stems from my own journey as a supply teacher and aims to explore how others, similarly employed, are able to construct notions of professionalism in a contemporary environment. Indeed, the title of this introductory chapter reflects the question that I often hear when encountering a new group of pupils: 'Are you a real teacher, Miss?' Moreover, despite providing continuity of the learning process (Segell, 2003) it can be argued that the piecemeal nature of supply work means that the supply teacher may 'go in, do the job and move on, sometimes unnoticed or unappreciated' (French, 2012:6), although I maintain that the term 'ignored' rather than 'unnoticed' is perhaps more accurate.

I concur, however, that the marginal positioning of the supply teacher may impact on the power/knowledge discourses circulating around him/her. As discourses sanctioned by policymakers at school or government level are often influenced by sophisticated and often 'invisible' surveillance mechanisms, this enables 'truths' around the status of the supply teacher to be produced affecting notions of professionalism. Thus 'analysis of discourse has the potential to show the link between political rhetoric and how discourses are formed and maintained' (Hewitt, 2009:5). Moreover, I wonder whether the opening quotation by Gates (no date) considers whether supply teachers are included in the notion of importance through the ability to draw on experience and pedagogical style gained in the transitory nature of employment.

Hence I begin this chapter with a brief insight into how continuing accountability and the drive for 'excellence' in teaching fuelled my professional interest in my area of research. This is followed by an introduction to the aims and key research question/sub-questions that formed the basis of my inquiry along with a short

discussion of the limitations of the research. I then offer a brief outline of the chapters of the thesis. I return, at the end of this chapter, to discuss how my own journey and its historical context prompted my interest in the construction of professionalism given the dynamics of social, political and educational change. Finally, this introductory chapter concludes with an insight into my positioning as a researcher in the study and the importance of ethical considerations when developing a research standpoint.

From Personal to Professional

What began as personal curiosity grew into a professional interest and became the focus of the Doctor of Education thesis. The exploration of theory and philosophy thus enabled a deeper exploration of the construction of professionalism in relation to supply teachers. Propelled by my own experiences, I believed that 'a supply teacher is not *merely* or *just* a supply teacher' (Rogers, 2003:6) but someone who is actually qualified to take the lesson. As a consequence, I was eager to gain an insight into the politics circulating around the margins by exploring the experiences of other supply teachers, particularly considering the significance of changes introduced to education by the coalition government of 2010–2015. Given that French (2012:202) maintains that there will still be a need for supply teachers, whilst predicting 'big challenges ahead' for this sector, this thesis aims to investigate how notions of professionalism and identity are constructed in contemporary times.

Therefore, mindful of the continuing drive towards 'excellent' teaching through accountability measures, government control and the marketing of education (Ball, 2013a; Leaton Gray, 2006), the study seeks to understand how such measures and control affect professionalism for those who appear to be marginalised as positive contributors to education. At the same time, my research offers me the opportunity to reflect on my own experiences and challenge any existing perceptions I may hold.

To gain an insight into the positioning of the supply teacher within discursive regimes I felt that it was also necessary to acknowledge how other educators view

the role of supply teachers as qualified professionals in a social setting where 'everyone deserves respect and has the right to feel valued' (Ball, 2013b:33) and within a profession where passing the blame to teachers for government failures 'has become a political blood sport' (Ball, 2013b:33). What is more, it can be questioned whether portrayals of supply teachers/supply teaching in the media contribute to negative perceptions of this particular sector of educators rather than offering a positive reflection of such contributors to teaching and learning (see Appendix A for examples of media headlines).

Therefore, in order to investigate and contrast differing perceptions (Schostak, 2002) around contemporary notions of professionalism of the supply teacher, the cohort of participants in the study includes both supply and permanent teachers.

Outlining My Research Questions

Bearing in mind the changes to education that I have referred to previously and will discuss in the next chapter, I felt that specific questions regarding the construction of the professional self needed to be investigated. Therefore, the central questions for my thesis are:

- How do we construct our professional status as supply teachers?
- How is the professional status of supply teachers constructed by educational policy and perceived by other educators?
- Was there ever a traditional role for supply teachers and, if so, has it become marginalised?
- Do supply teachers have fixed identities?

As research progressed I was able to refine my questions as I sought to explore specific individual experiences. For example, the third question appeared to hint at my own presumptions. It was originally worded 'Is the traditional role of the supply teacher becoming marginalised?' and appeared to allude to my own anecdotal evidence. In an attempt to keep the research question open it was, therefore, amended to 'Was there ever a traditional role for the supply teacher and, if so, has it become marginalised?' As a supply teacher and a researcher I was also aware of

researcher power and personal subjectivity, thus a thread of reflexivity runs throughout the thesis, offering what Clough and Nutbrown (2012:22) describe as 'a careful transparency around [my] work' as I attempt to interpret the experiences of others and avoid 'the danger of fooling myself through [my] selective perception of events' (Mortimore, 2000:16).

Mindful of these issues it was hoped that, by exploring the experiences around the above questions, data would reveal insights into the nuanced realities surrounding perceptions of professionalism given the dynamic environment of educational changes that framed the period of research. I thus decided that the most appropriate way in which to carry out my inquiry was as follows:

- sample – eight supply teachers and four permanent teachers;
- interviews – one per participant (each interview to last between forty-five and sixty minutes);
- data collection – over a period of twelve to eighteen months;
- location – to be decided on an individual basis;
- research diary – to note my own experiences and reflect on research;
- newspapers/internet – to gather information and build a mini-library of policy developments relevant to research.

The above proposal offered a framework for data collection. However, aware that interviews could perhaps open up further inquiry, I envisaged a data collection time of up to eighteen months in order that further interviews could, if necessary, be arranged.

Limitations of the Research

The primary objective of this qualitative study is to explore how contemporary educational policies bring challenges to notions of professionalism in supply teachers. The sample group is drawn from a cohort of eight supply teachers and four permanent teachers from Greater Manchester. The small sample size and limited geographical area may not reflect the perceptions of either professional group from a nationwide aspect. In addition, the educational policies and changes

referred to reflect introductions made under the coalition government of 2010–2015 and may be amended or withdrawn during the completion of this thesis. Statistics on supply teachers also tended to be patchy following the demise of the General Teaching Council (GTC) discussed later in the chapter. However, it is hoped that the findings of the research offer an insight into aspects of professionalism within a small segment of educators whom I believe remain an important group. At the same time, it is hoped that the research offers the possibility for further inquiry into any issues raised.

Taking Shape – A Look at the Chapters

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 (Adding Context to the Area of Research) offers insight into the background that frames the period in which the research and analysis of data took place. Here I discuss contemporary mechanisms of control and accountability relating to educational policy and changes to the workforce brought about by shifts in political, social and economic policies which I deem relevant to my research. Chapter 3 (Developing a Methodological Framework) discusses how my research paradigm and theoretical understandings contribute to the research design. I discuss how aspects of Foucauldian theory allow me to explore the data and acknowledge how theory can be employed in cross-disciplinary analysis before I explain how the research sample and subsequent methods of data collection were decided upon. As a supply teacher, I was able to offer my own contribution to the research via anecdotal evidence and diary entries. Hence my own positioning in the research is examined in more detail within this chapter and offers explanation of why I feel that this emic situating is beneficial to data collection, in particular that of semi-structured interviews.

Data is analysed and discussed in the Chapters 4 and 5 (Making Sense of Discourses). Chapter 4 looks at aspects of professionalism of the supply teacher in the classroom, before moving to Chapter 5 which discusses power/knowledge relations between the supply teacher and the wider environment of recruitment and current education policies.

I then draw on Deleuzian theory in Chapter 6 (Revisiting Theory: Mechanisms of Contemporary Surveillance and the Supply Teacher) to explore how developments in technology introduce new and sophisticated mechanisms of control to society at large. In particular, I draw attention to how Foucault's metaphorical Panopticon is pushed into the contemporary age, bringing with it shifts in the debate about relationships of power. This enables me to revisit strands of the data to consider how a shift from Foucault's concept of a disciplinary society to that of Deleuze's societies of control, may shift thinking about binaries and the discourses circulating around the supply teacher. Such movement may perhaps enable the opening of further wriggle room or space for negotiation impacting on notions of freedom and autonomy for the supply teacher.

Consequently, by maintaining an openness to the understanding that my own views, beliefs and perceptions would be challenged as analysis of the data was undertaken, meant that my perceptions and understanding of 'truths' could indeed shift as I reflected on what I had learned as the thesis took shape. Hence Chapter 7 (A voyage of Discovery – Research as a Learning Curve) offers insight into the shifts that have taken place throughout the thesis on different levels.

Finally, in Chapter 8 (Concluding the Research), I revisit the initial question and sub-questions that underpinned the research, taking into account the themes that emerged from the data. Drawing on this I offer my interpretation, arguments and understanding of contemporary power mechanisms that contribute to the shaping of notions of professionalism for the supply teacher, given the fast-moving environment of social, economic and educational policy change. The findings of the study also contribute to the small body of existing literature appertaining to supply teachers and offers suggestions for further inquiry into the dynamics of power/knowledge and the associated discourses concerning these educators.

Supply Teaching As a Personal Career Choice

It could be considered that my route into teaching was, perhaps, more unusual than most at the time,[1] in that I decided to enter the profession after spending thirteen years in sales and marketing, rather than having harboured a long-held ambition to become a teacher. However, the knowledge gained in industry was, I felt, instrumental to my career and to my own notion of professionalism and identity as a business teacher. I believe, for example, that my grounding in marketing ensured that I was able promote my skills in particular areas to the best advantage and recognise when further clarification was needed. Thus, my interest and commitment to investigating the issues surrounding the professionalism and status of supply teachers stems from my own personal journey as a supply teacher working in the 11–18 sector of education over the past nineteen years or so. This encouraged me to explore the differing expectations held by other educators and myself regarding this role.

I often refer to my first permanent post in 1995 as a baptism of fire, since I had taken over the post of teacher in charge of business from the previous position holder who was seriously ill. However, my previous background and experience was excellent preparation for dealing with the peripheral aspects of tasks outside of the classroom – for example organising work experience placements or dealing with examination boards – and the more unforeseen elements of classroom management which no teacher training course can predict. Although I enjoyed the post, I was aware that I needed to experience a wider range of teaching and management styles in a variety of different types of establishment. Hence, with a successful record of examination results for Years 10 and 11, I decided to leave the school after three years and register with the local authority supply register. I immediately found Spratt's (1999) observation of supply teaching at the time to be quite accurate in that:

[1] It can be noted that since then the coalition government (2010–2015) and the Conservative government (2015–present) have been active in recruiting from industry and the armed forces in a quest to encourage a wider range of people to join the teaching profession.

> Supply staff were expected to adapt rapidly to new working environments. Whereas a new member of the permanent staff would be allowed a settling in period, and often given an induction, supply teachers were required to operate at full efficacy immediately (Spratt, 1999:online).

This said, in relation to my earlier 'baptism of fire' as a permanent teacher, I would point out that the settling-in period for new permanent teachers, should not be taken for granted either then or now although it may be a common occurrence in many schools.

Whilst I have subsequently interspersed supply teaching with permanent posts, I enjoy both the challenge and the often-refreshing changes of differing school environments that supply teaching brings. My choice of teaching career has enriched my teaching experiences through the encountering of, and drawing from, an array of management styles in different schools in a way in which I believe that a permanent post could not facilitate.

As I reflected on my journey as a supply teacher, I nonetheless noted that the job market for supply teaching had suffered from peaks and troughs. By 2009 it appeared that schools had begun to use newly introduced cover supervisors[2] on a more regular basis in order to fill the role of the absent teacher, leading to 79 per cent of supply teachers in Devon reporting a decrease in work opportunities (Wright, 2010). Similarly, an article in the *Times Educational Supplement* (Ritchie, 2010) and the findings of the NASAWT (2012:8) that 68 per cent of its members had noticed a decline in work since 2010,[3] indicated that the trend appeared to be part of a larger occurrence. At this point, I would consider that I was fairly well known and my teaching well regarded in local schools, thus this gradual intrusion did not initially affect my bookings, which were usually long term. Positive experiences of long-term assignments thus tempered an earlier argument (Shilling, 1991a) that due to the differences in employment contract, the supply teacher was effectively

[2] Cover supervisors were originally introduced to maintain teachers' non-contact time following the setting of a maximum of 38 hours' cover per year for full-time teachers. For further information see The Schoolteachers' Pay and Conditions Document 2004, at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090209055604/http://teachernet.gov.uk/management/payandperformance/pay/2004/Pay_Publication_2004/

[3] The NASUWT survey was taken over three-week period between February and March 2012. A total of 849 respondents took part.

redundant on the return of the permanent teacher and that the taken-for-granted characteristics of cover work serve to underline its 'second-class status' (Shilling, 1991a:4). I would counter that, for me, the flexibility of supply work was a lifestyle choice and 'redundancy on return' formed part of the nature of the job. This I believe is also borne out by a NASUWT survey undertaken in 2010 which found that 31 per cent of respondents chose supply teaching 'as a deliberate career choice' (French, 2012:6).

Of course, no written contract exists between the school and supply teacher and I, as a business teacher, was probably more aware than most of budgetary constraints and economic factors. Consequently, as time progressed I began to realise the impact on my own situation in the form of both less choice of bookings and reduced frequency as 'private supply agencies became the main provider of supply teachers for schools' (NASUWT, 2012:6).

As this practice began to encroach on my own employability, it slowly became apparent that I too would have to register with the private sector in order to get work. Therefore, with no time for complacency and with some reluctance, I signed up to two private agencies whilst continuing to work for the local authority. The move in itself proved to be a revelation. Not only was I expected to travel to places outside the specified area that I had chosen, but I began to notice subtle changes in offers of work (for example, I began to receive requests for a half-day, rather than a full day's work, or to arrive at 10 am and finish at 2 pm). Furthermore, a lack of subject-matching and a growing number of disruptive classes (teaching the latter often brought with it the increased need for classroom assistants and/or management intervention in the lessons) meant that I refused more work than I accepted and very quickly fell down the list of available teachers. My fears appeared to be borne out by the worrying finding that '42% of supply teachers were being used to cover the lessons of difficult pupils' (NASUWT 2012:16) whilst it appeared that permanent staff concentrated on delivering lessons to satisfy the requirements of a continuing results-driven system (Mortimore:2013). Despite this system being criticised by Wrigley (2008) as a comprise to quality learning in that 'dramatically rising test scores are often a sham, and that high-stakes testing leads

to shallow and tokenistic learning' (Wrigley, 2008:online), the NASUWT's findings gave me pause to consider whether subject knowledge and experience of the supply teacher was sliding down the criteria of supply cover requirements.

It can be noted that on commencement of Phase A of the Doctor of Education Qualification in 2010 that supply teachers made up 9.2 per cent (approximately 46K workers) of the registered, qualified teacher workforce in service in the UK on the census date. This was a rise from 2008 when supply teachers constituted 7.2 per cent of the teacher workforce (General Teaching Council, 2011:13). Despite this rise and given that my own experiences appeared to be backed up by union surveys, just how was our professionalism and status constituted and perceived in a fast-moving society where schools were governed by marketing and judged on accountability?

By choosing to work at the margins, I am able to explore the transient aspects of the profession, or in other words, the less stable and vulnerable aspects that feed into perceptions of identity and status. From this I hope to gain insights into the variations and nuances of professionalism. This allows me to move away from making clear distinctions and claims of definite binaries between permanent and supply teachers, in favour of exploring the complexities of lived experiences and the dynamics of power/knowledge discourses.

Whilst an interpretivist paradigm enables me to gather data through interviews to investigate attitudes and beliefs regarding how individuals make sense of the world around them, so the decision to draw on the post-structural perspectives of Foucault's concept of the power/knowledge relationship enabled me to explore the context-specific meanings of associated discursive practices that contribute to notions of identity. Whilst it is argued that Foucault would not have described himself as a post-structuralist (Given, 2008; Ball, 2013a) it is his 'views on power and knowledge that have helped to shape post-structuralist perspectives' (Given, 2008:667). Consequently, it is through looking at the operation of power in everyday relationships and institutional practices that, I suggest, offers me a better

understanding of the construction of professional identity and notions of professionalism with regard to supply teachers.

Adopting a Research Approach

Having an awareness of alternative research traditions before undertaking my research project was necessary (Yilmaz, 2013) since my choice of methodology and methods was a reflection of my personal views and underpinned the quality and relevance of the data I sought to gather. An interpretive approach forms the basis of my research design which I believe necessary to investigate the paradoxical situation of the 'temporary' teacher. However, agreeing with Bassey's earlier claim that 'the public world is positivist; the private world is interpretative' (Bassey, 1999:44), I believe that a positivist paradigm still dominates education today. Moreover, Mortimore (2013) argues that there continues to be a firm belief that only such quantitative data is valid in terms of rigour and quality.

This can be noted in the continuing emphasis on league tables including the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) reports; the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills' (OFSTED) performance tables or in-house assessment based on accountability and tick-box appraisals. Nonetheless, I was aware that, since my small sample of participants inferred meaning from phenomena (Yilmaz, 2013) that could not be reduced to mechanistic coding, variables or narratives that would have stripped them of the very nuances that made them unique (Jackson and Mazzei, 2008), my qualitative study was at odds with the world in which educators were judged. Despite this acknowledgement, it was imperative that, as a researcher in the educational field, I was able to interpret data and discourse in a way that enabled me to generate meaningful information from the input gathered from the participants of my study. Thus, I take an:

> …interpretive and naturalistic approach to the study of people…to reveal in descriptive terms the meanings that people attach to their experiences of the world (Yilmaz, 2013:312).

This allowed me to contemplate the most appropriate methodology and methods to understand the formation of truths given the influence of power and knowledge on the formation of professionalism. However as 'there are a multiplicity of approaches that can be described as discourse analyis' (Hewitt, 2009:2), I am also reminded by Tara-Chand (2016) that there is a beginning but no end to the relationship between theory and methodology in qualitative study. Bearing this in mind, I feel that it is unwise to try to fit my approach into a particular box and would thus describe the research as being underpinned by a framework that incorporates critical and interpretive qualities. As I seek to investigate discursive practices with supply teachers as subjects, power relations may be reflected in language but also encompass a broader scope including actions shaped by systems and regulatory processes. Therefore, the adoption of an exploratory approach to analysing the data is preferred.

Theory is thus a vehicle to explore rather than restrict interpretation of findings and, as such, aspects of Foucauldian theory enabled the opportunity to probe and explore aspects of power, knowledge and practice in a critical manner. This does not mean that I am defined by a 'single theoretical position' as feared by Ball (2013a:2) but rather that the use of Foucauldian tools of analysis serves to illustrate how theory opens up opportunity for further analysis of data, allowing philosophical views (for example, I later draw from Deleuze) to be explored, challenged and compared whilst offering the opportunity for self-reflection. Foucault's analytical tools indeed inspired me to inform, rather than define, my own critical outlook, endorsing the argument by Mills (2003) that Foucault did not intend readers to slavishly follow his work but to be energised by it. At the same time, I am aware that from a philosophical viewpoint, whilst there is a 'move towards utility rather than ideology or philosophy' (Moriarty, 2011:7), the ongoing debates regarding theory and qualitative methods continue.

Positioning Myself in the Research

As discussed in the previous section, I reject a positivist view of events in favour of an interpretive approach. Consequently, a qualitative research position that

explores the ways through which a 'self and its world are constituted through an imaginative grasp in relation to experiences of "Reality"' (Schostak, 2002:18) is appropriate. Ideally, in order to generate the information that I sought, I had to acknowledge my own existing perceptions or biases and trust that the information gathered from participants was honest, truthful and representative of their own experiences.

I considered the role of supply teacher/researcher as an emic positioning within the research design, a valuable positioning in the investigation of perceptions of professionalism. But since the notion of 'truth' is central to data collection and communication of findings, it is important to understand my own values, given the interpretive framework underpinning the research design. Schostak (2002) and Mortimore (2000) thus postulate that surrounding discourses all shape my views on research and how I undertake it. Given that paradigms are a human construct and as such 'inevitably reflect the values of their human constructors' (Guba, 1990:23), I must remain aware as a practitioner and researcher of researcher power and personal subjectivity.

Finally, I will highlight why the importance of sensitivity and trust-building between me and the participants was also uppermost when undertaking research. I have explained how my methodology influenced the chosen method (interviewing) as a means of gathering data in order to gather the thick descriptive, detailed information necessary to interpret the perspective of each individual. Therefore, it was instrumental that ethical concerns regarding anonymity and confidentiality (see Appendices B and C – Information Sheet and Consent Form) were discussed and safeguards (for example, the option of leaving the research at any time) put in place. This enabled my research group to feel comfortable when recalling their experiences as I explored the uncertainties and complexities that contributed to the 'truths' of supply teaching as experienced by the individual. Ethical guidelines offered by the Manchester Metropolitan University along with those of British Education Research Association (BERA, 2011) were followed and participants could, if desired, contact my Director of Studies should any issue arise.

Summary

This introductory chapter outlines the reasons for, and the inquiries of, my research. As educators, supply teachers provide a service that I believe is often overlooked as a valuable resource and this positions the supply teacher as a marginal subject within discursive practices.

Through outlining my own interests and brief insight into my experiences of both permanent and supply teaching, I have drawn attention to what I understand to be the complexities of constructing notions of professionalism. Hence I believe this to be an important area of research regarding qualified teachers who choose to work in a supply role on either daily or termly assignments.

The thesis offers an insight into the variations and nuances of the power/knowledge nexus encompassing supply teachers that may affect the construction of professionalism for the individual. In this way, it is hoped that the thesis offers understanding of how shifts in practices may affect notions of professional identity and status. Thus the research explores if and how supply teachers may use the power/knowledge nexus in an advantageous manner. It is the aim of the thesis, therefore, to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on this sector of educators, highlighting any areas that may be of interest for possible further investigation.

The following chapter offers context to the research through an acknowledgement of the limitations of existing literature and an insight into the social, political and economic policies which offer a backdrop to the research area and frame the period of data collection.

Chapter 2: Adding Context to the Area of Research

> *Reality is not a function of the event as event, but of the relationship of that event to past, and future events.* Robert Penn Warren (1946:578)

A Snapshot in Time

The chapter will begin with a brief discussion on what I believe to be a gap in the literature concerning the supply teacher, before highlighting contemporary drivers of education and market mechanisms that affect those working in education. This is followed by an overview of the ongoing bureaucratic reforms surrounding workforce remodelling[4] and a discussion over the concerns over teacher shortages. I will then move on to the changes to teacher training schemes. Finally, I will discuss the demise of local education authority (LEA) supply pools in favour of a move to private-sector provision. Whilst this is by no means an exhaustive list of developments which may pose a challenge to the deployment of supply teachers, I believe that these developments may contribute to the significant discourses surrounding the role of the supply teacher regarding notions of professionalism and status and offer context to my research.

Existing Literature and the Supply Teacher

In order to contextualise my own research and its contemporary setting, I turn to the literature reviews of Shilling (1991a) and Galloway (1993) on supply teaching to get a glimpse of the impact of changes introduced by the Education Act of 1988 and also deployment during earlier teacher shortages in the UK. Whilst both authors comment on the 'modest amount of literature' (Shilling, 1991a:3) on supply teachers at the time, differences were noted in the motivation between males and females for undertaking supply work and the 'significantly different meaning' (Shilling 1991b:68) given to experiences. However, in general, the literature indicated that supply teachers of both sexes were found to have 'little job satisfaction, control over their work or job prospects' (Shilling 1991a:6), with the

[4] The term 'workforce remodelling' is used to describe the changing role of support staff and the effect on the cover for absent teachers. The term also includes the introduction of unqualified teachers into the classroom.

belief that supply teachers were 'powerless to alter their position' (Loveys, 1998 cited in Galloway, 1993:166). For the supply teacher as an individual, lack of recognition, lack of training and isolation are all features of the reviewed literature.

However, Shilling (1991b) draws on his own research on supply teachers and the option of remaining in post to refute the suggestion of supply teachers as 'powerless' (Blackburne et al. 1989, cited in Shilling 1991b:67). This sentiment is echoed in Galloway's (1993) challenge to the similar claim by Loveys (1988) prompting suggestion that further exploration into both gender issues and power relationships is needed so that these qualified teachers no longer remained 'out of sight, out of mind' (Galloway, 1993:167). Research by Hutchings et al. (2006) indicated some improvement regarding good practice although awareness of DfES guidance appeared patchy for some schools and supply teachers. However, the challenge of contemporary change '…creates a climate in which "teacher identity" is far from being a simple uniform concept' (Menter, 2010:26) and 'schools and classrooms become…sites of struggle' (Day, 2012:8). Hence it is by focussing on the dynamics of the power/knowledge relationship from the margins as a political site that I am able to investigate the potentialities for supply teachers to reinforce notions of professionalism through negotiation of the discursive gap. In doing so, it is hoped that my research will contribute to the existing literature on supply teachers.

I believe, however, that the lack of general academic literature appertaining to UK supply teachers may be compounded by the demise of the General Teaching Council for England (GTC)[5] which required registration of all qualified teachers, including supply teachers. This has led to a lack of centralised statistics (see Appendix D) appertaining to those working on temporary teaching contracts in the UK,[6] although individual teaching unions may offer annual data based on surveys of

[5] The GTC was abolished in March 2012, with some functions being absorbed by the Department for Education.

[6] The Office for National Statistics (ONS) carries out an annual (school) workforce survey but covers only those in work on a certain day with a contract of over 28 days and who are aged 60 or under. Consequently, it excludes those registered as supply teachers but not working at time, those registered with supply agencies and those over 60. Scotland and Northern Ireland operate separately.

their own members. On the other hand, however, there appears to a growth in recent years of information for the supply teacher ranging from self-help books (for example, Cowley, 2014; French, 2012; Segell, 2003) full of anecdotal stories and survival tips, to ready-made lesson plans and behaviour-management strategies available online from teaching unions (for example ATL or NASUWT). Furthermore, dedicated supply teacher forums such as www.supplybag.co.uk or www.thesupplyteacher.com have offered a community setting for supply teachers to consider a wide range of issues including those discussed in the following section.

The Social and Political Backdrop to the Research

In order to understand the contemporary environment in which the supply teacher is situated, it is necessary to acknowledge the plethora of changes around educational reform as mechanisms of power and knowledge become even more enmeshed and dynamic as the 'traditional' workforce is remodelled and new discourses produced.

Undertaken at one of the most economically and politically turbulent times in the UK's recent history, my research into supply teaching has been conducted against a backdrop of the slide into recession in 2008 and its continuing effects as the economy struggles to reposition itself. Interviews with participants in the study were conducted over an eighteen-month period from August 2012 as cutbacks to budgets in both the public and private sectors were being felt throughout the economy. At the same time, the Conservative–Liberal Democrat coalition government elected in 2010 brought with it a flurry of further changes to education policy especially between 2010 and 2014, under the direction of the Secretary of State for Education during that period, Michael Gove, which continued under his successor to the role, Nicky Morgan, as this thesis was approaching completion.

Drivers of Education in the Twenty-first Century

It could be argued that the main drivers of education in the twenty-first century are centred around productivity, efficiency and freedom of choice. The increased use of

market mechanisms by recent UK governments introduced greater competition, and the effects of such mechanisms can be noted within schools. In particular, competition as a market mechanism can be seen in various areas of education other than teaching and learning. For example, employment of ancillary staff as the increased implementation of the contracting out of services means that jobs, from caretaking duties to provision of school meals, are tendered out as competitive pricing determines how contracts are fulfilled (The Smith Institute, 2014). As I continue my journey as an educator, I find myself surrounded by indicators that suggest that it has indeed become usual to have, for example, IT services within school undertaken by a private company, whereas less than ten years ago this would have been contrary to the norm and individuals would have been employed directly by the school.

For stakeholders in education, for example parents or pupils, it is argued that the publication of league tables offers a greater choice and, ostensibly, informed decision-making around educational options. By the same token, it is also suggested that as catchment areas are abolished, the introduction of a wider variety of schools brings greater freedom of choice (Waslander et al., 2010).

For teachers, market mechanisms have meant that education policies have been structured around a notion of accountability and competition in the form of league tables or OFSTED[7] inspections, ensuring that teachers become technicians, leaving their own professional and educational values behind as they 'hurry to respond to the demands of educational policy' (Leaton Gray, 2006:3) in the quest to reach the OFSTED interpretation of 'excellent' teaching. In addition, striving towards the goals set by education policies and adhering to a new set of norms may well cause conflict for the individual, for both permanent and supply teachers alike, since:

> questions of professional identity cannot be separated from issues of control and the institutional and managerial arrangements within which they are constructed and regulated (Leaton Gray, 2006:2).

[7] OFSTED is the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills. The primary task is to monitor standards in schools via inspections.

Indeed, as Ball (2003:220) posits, 'Organizations will do whatever is necessary to excel or to survive' in an environment where the mechanics of performativity mean that monitoring (through ever-increasing surveillance) and constant judgement is needed to meet ever-changing policy requirements. I believe, therefore, that the following areas contribute to the discourses that impact on the professional identity and notions of professionalism surrounding supply teachers.

Reforming the School Workforce

When discussing the reforms to the school workforce and supply teachers, I reflect upon the words of Penn Warren's (1946) quotation at the start of the chapter. I wonder how and whether the construction of truth or reality around notions of status and professionalism stems from previous experiences and how this links in to future developments. In this way, I hope to add further context to the exploration of the effects of such changes on perceptions of professionalism.

Prior to discussing changes to the workforce, recent major reforms to actual school 'organisation' must be acknowledged. In particular, the introduction of the Academies Act 2010,[8] which stipulated that all new schools must be either academies or free schools,[9] meant that by November 2014 there were 4,614 academy schools as opposed to 2,543 in November 2012, whilst free schools numbered 315 in November 2014, up from 88 in November 2012 (Department for Education, 2014). Hence the traditional model of local authority maintained schools and centrally employed teachers began to decline. These major changes to education were coupled with the introduction of workforce remodelling via the deployment of teaching assistants (Blatchford et al., 2012) within the teaching sector.

By offering schools a greater autonomy in areas such as curriculum delivery and staff deployment, educational reforms saw a further increase in the rise of cover

[8] First introduced during the previous New Labour government to improve failing schools, the coalition government of 2010 aimed to convert all schools to academy status, either by sponsorship or conversion, under the Academies Act 2010.

[9] Free schools were the flagship policy of the coalition government and could be set up by parents, religious groups, etc. under the Academies Act 2010.

supervisors and teaching assistants (TAs) covering absences of permanent teachers and in some cases being responsible for their own classes or duties such as registration. Although the furore surrounding the deployment of TAs led to the Department for Education (DfE) and the Treasury debating the cost of support staff and declaring that '230,000 teaching assistants face the axe' (Woolf and Griffiths, 2013), it only served to cause anxiety over job security amongst the support cohort and did not improve the situation of the supply teacher who still faced competition over short-term employment.

The shift in deployment of TAs is reflected in DfE statistics which show that 'the number of supply teachers working in maintained schools on *a given day* fell from 16,700 in 2000 to 10,300 in 2013 whilst numbers of teaching assistants over the same period rose from 79,000 to 192,900'(original emphasis).[10] This appears to reflect the earlier findings of the School Workforce Census (DfE, 2011) regarding the shift in the make-up of the workforce in publicly funded schools as illustrated in Figures 1 and 2 that show a shift in the make-up of the workforce in publicly funded schools from January 2000 (workforce size 568,000 full-time equivalent (FTE)) to November 2010 (workforce size 850,000 FTE).

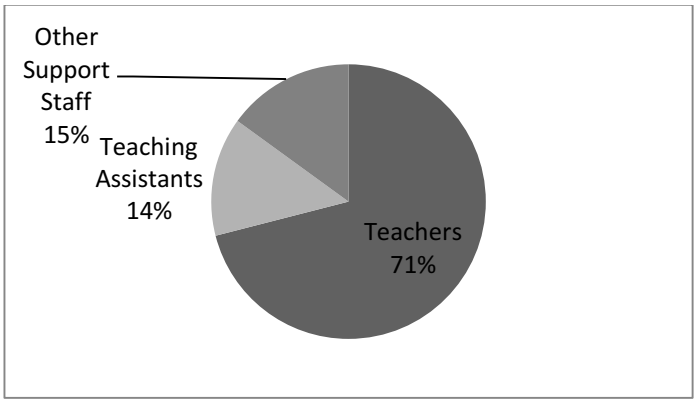

Figure 1: Workforce in Publicly Funded Schools – January 2000 (DfE, 2011:151)

[10] National Union of Teachers 'Edu-Facts: Supply Teachers in England and Wales' https://www.teachers.org.uk/edufacts/supplyteachers accessed 28th July 2015.

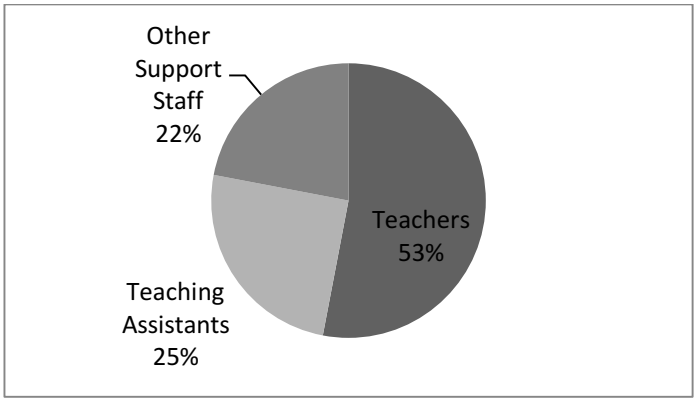

Figure 2: Workforce in Publicly Funded Schools – November 2010 (DfE, 2011:151)

Similarly, the Audit Commission (2011) advises that although the DfE recorded 12,400 teachers as being in 'occasional service' in maintained schools in 2010 (a rise on the previous year), in context this was actually a drop from 2003.

When considering the above, along with the 'Rarely Cover Rule'[11] (introduced shortly before the coalition government came to power and ostensibly described as a measure to allow permanent teachers more time for planning and marking), a repercussion on the role of the supply teacher can perhaps be expected. Such official discourse involving the deployment of teaching assistants and other support staff, rather than a qualified teacher working on a supply basis – the more expensive option – to cover 'short-term' absences (i.e. up to three days), may have implications for the supply teacher, and could push supply teachers further to the margins of the education system. This may trouble notions of professional identity as a strand of professionalism for supply teachers.

In addition to the changes to the deployment of cover supervisors and TAs, changes to policy allowed unqualified teachers into the classroom. This negates the need for staff, either on short-term or permanent placement, to hold a recognised teaching qualification.

[11] From 1st September 2009 the 38-hour annual limit for teachers on cover was scrapped so that in future teachers would only 'rarely cover' for absent colleagues. http://www.nasuwt.org.uk/PayPensionsandConditions/England/Conditions/RarelyCover/index.htm accessed 28th July 2015.

Unsurprisingly this change, introduced in 2012 as part of a relaxing of the requirements for employing teachers in academies, caused consternation amongst both the permanent and temporary qualified-teacher cohort as academies were brought in line with free schools and private schools in this respect. Any remaining schools (state funded) were required to ensure that potential teaching staff had qualified teacher status (QTS).

The introduction of unqualified teachers into the classroom brought a swift response from the NASUWT, which argued that there would be a public outcry should the medical profession introduce unqualified doctors (Harrison, 2013). Further consternation over the number of pupils being taught by unqualified staff in the classroom, and the effect on teaching and learning standards was also brought to the attention of the ATL delegates during the address by Stephen Twigg (Sellgren, 2013).

Hence, as workforce reforms are unveiled, concerns that government policies on recruitment and qualifications are 'rendering supply teaching unsustainable as a way of making a living' (Om100, 2015) continue to be raised. Similar concerns are often voiced via supply teaching community websites such as the *Times Educational Supplement* (*TES*) or via the dedicated online discussion sites of various broadsheets, for example *The Guardian*'s 'Secret Teacher' discussion site. Such forums thus add further insights into the power/knowledge discourses circulating around supply teachers, albeit in specific rather than mainstream arenas. Nonetheless, they offer supply teachers the opportunity to share experiences and discuss the deployment of others in similar situations.

Who Will Fill the Role?

It must not be forgotten that increases in the population at different times affect the pupil–teacher ratio as do other factors, such as demand on curriculum area or long-term sickness etc. (Howson and McNamara, 2012). Although teacher shortages have been noted as a fairly regular occurrence over the past fifty years or so (Chevalier and Dolton, 2004), shortfalls were more than likely to be filled by qualified teaching staff seeking short-term positions, often for personal or family

reasons, or by those who had taken early retirement i.e. educators who *chose* to work as supply teachers.

Therefore, the announcement in 2013 that an additional 15,000 teachers would be needed to cover the anticipated 256,000 rise in new pupils in the education system by 2014–15 and beyond (Sellgren, 2013) begged the question whether supply teachers would be used to fill the posts. However, although recently released figures by the BBC showed that £821m was spent on supply teachers in England alone during 2014/15 (Rhodes, 2016) it actually refers to the *spend* by local authority schools on cover staff from private recruitment agencies and may not refer to the deployment of actual supply *teachers* alone during this teacher shortage. I believe that this may thus raise questions of deployment. Nonetheless I suspect that discontent over the figure will be voiced in a similar fashion to that of the Taxpayers' Alliance's[12] response to the £293m spent on supply teachers in 2009/10. In that instance, the leader of the NASUWT, Chris Keates, felt obliged to defend the quality of supply teaching. Referring to the subject knowledge and qualifications of these educators, Keates (2011, cited in Sellgren, 2011:online) argues that 'it is wrong to imply that somehow pupils are being short-changed when supply staff are employed' which seemed to be the underlying accusation of the Taxpayers' Alliance's claim.

For the supply teacher, any fears for professional status may also be compounded by the knowledge that teacher recruitment usually rises in a recession or periods of slow economic growth as individuals apply for careers in teaching that they would not normally consider (Thomas, 2013; Howson and McNamara, 2012). Similarly, the coalition government continued to take steps to try to circumvent any crisis occurring by reforming the ways in which both graduates and experienced individuals can enter the teaching profession. Bearing in mind Michael Gove's (and his successor, Nicky Morgan's) mission to turn every school into an academy and turn around failing schools was uppermost in policy planning, schools are now able to draw on various teacher-recruitment schemes. For example, the Transition to

[12] The Taxpayers' Alliance is a campaign group that demands fairer and lower taxes and government transparency regarding overspending.

Teaching scheme is aimed at those in industry who wished to retrain as teachers and hold a degree in a STEM[13] subject, whilst the Troops to Teachers (DfE:2013) initiative aims to offer those leaving the army a career in the classroom. In addition, top graduates without any work experience are encouraged to consider teaching as a career and offered financial incentives and teaching roles within six weeks[14] whilst School Direct[15] offers school-led on-the-job training via team teaching.

Furthermore, whilst some may argue that such policies can be costly, especially given the current economic climate (Savage, 2014, cited in Fearn, 2014), or ineffective (Paton, 2014), the diverse training routes and subsequent experience of the new or trainee teacher alter the power balance between university- and school-led teacher training (Brown et al., 2015). This in itself may offer insight into the dynamism of the power/knowledge nexus operating at both government and school levels and the effect on the supply teacher's positioning as an educator.

Swimming Against the Tide – a Move Away from the LEA Supply Pool

Finally, to conclude my overview of the context of market mechanisms, policy reform and discourses impacting upon the supply teacher, I will draw attention to the change in the way in which the supply teacher obtains employment. Under the remit of the local (education) authority, the deployment of supply teachers was based on the requirements of the school, and the task of the authority was to satisfy any subject-based need from the list of available supply teachers. As Hutchings et al. (2006) indicate it was quite common for schools to keep a list of regular supply teachers who would be contacted directly, ensuring that cover was in place well before the day started – an obvious merit of such an arrangement. However, supply teachers were not employed by the school but the local education authority and remained on the LEA payroll. The supply teachers would then receive pay commensurate to their scale on the main pay structure or the upper pay spine

[13] STEM subjects are Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.
[14] For example, Teach First, set up in 2002, offers trainee teachers a six-week summer school prior to teaching in a classroom. This is part of a total of 72 days' training in the first year. From 2002 to 2014 over 5,000 teachers had been trained in this way. https://www.teachfirst.org.uk/what-we-do/developing-leaders-schools-0/training-and-supporting-new-teachers accessed 28th July 2015.
[15] School Direct replaced the Graduate Teaching Programme which last ran from 2012–13.

(UPS) whilst have the option to continue to pay into, or join, the Teachers' Pension Scheme (TPS). To that end, there remained recognition that the supply teacher was indeed a fully qualified teacher choosing to work on temporary assignments. The early moves to private-sector provision of services sometimes saw authorities contracting out supply teacher services. Although this often involved only subtle changes to supply teacher–school–LEA interaction, in some instances there was a cap on pay scales – for example capping rates for experienced staff at UPS1 rather than UPS3.

Increased marketisation of the education sector over the past decade saw the disbanding of many LEA supply pools, and it is now commonplace for schools to obtain supply teachers via one of the many private agencies offering this service. Competition thus offers 'freedom of choice' for both schools and supply teachers, enabling new discourses to be produced as market mechanisms shape relationships between the schools and supply teachers. Furthermore, unlike the LEA supply pools that covered specific areas, private agencies tend to have a much wider reach and are often national organisations. However, there is not a national database of agencies and the number of private agencies remains obscure, although according to the NUT (2015)[16] the number of private agencies is thought to be over 250, excluding single-person operations.

Although the lack of a central database of agencies may be worthy of further research, it is not within the scope of this study to do so. However, I believe that it is important to acknowledge contemporary background shifts to give further context to the thesis.

Summary

The chapter offers a snapshot of the policies and mechanisms concerning the changing make-up of the workforce and the increasing privatisation of supply cover provision as I gathered data from the participants of the study. In addition,

[16] Information taken from NUT supply teacher survey using data from supply teachers registered with the NUT only. Further information can be found at https://www.teachers.org.uk/members-reps/supply-teachers

highlighting what I believe to be a gap in the literature allows me to offer context to the research.

As new discourses are formed so the power/knowledge dynamic constantly morphs and changes, hence cover arrangements and the deployment of the supply teacher may be affected. The research explores how the interrelationship of power and knowledge impact on the supply teachers caught up in various discourses affecting those working on the margins of education. Investigating how the identity and status of supply teachers are perceived offers an insight into the challenges and opportunities facing the construction of professionalism for this cohort of educators.

The following chapter outlines the development of the research design and methodology given my acknowledgement of the above and my wish to gain a better understanding of the positioning of the supply teacher within discursive practice with regard to perceptions and the constitution of professionalism.

Chapter 3: Developing a Methodological Framework

> *Whatever the research questions, whatever the findings, the methodology must stand a test of time, show itself worthy of the investment of the research act and offer testimony to the credence of outcomes.* Nutbrown (2012:ix)

Trying to Encounter 'Reality'

As the above quotation from Nutbrown (2012) implies, theoretical underpinnings and paradigms as part of methodology are instrumental in guiding the choice of methods employed around data collection, and the development of a methodological framework suitable to my own research objectives (Mercieca and Mercieca, 2013) was necessary.

This chapter on methodology, therefore, examines how the research design was developed as I sought to explore how mechanisms of power and knowledge entwined within the discursive practices that encompass supply teachers in relation to the construction of professionalism. Reminded that educational research is contextually located and therefore changes its form depending on time and location (Yates, 2004), I am also urged to never assume that I have discovered the final 'truth' about a subject (Mills, 2003:3) but to be open to further development of my own horizons and understandings.

Given this, the chapter begins with a look at how my epistemological lens led to my understanding of phenomena and the formation of my interpretive paradigm and the post-structural framework of the study. I then discuss the role of theory (explored in Phase A of the doctorate) as part of the methodology employed. In doing so it can be seen how I was able to develop certain concepts to unpack and interpret the knowledge offered by the participants, enabling me to build on such theory and explore further. I briefly return to my role in the research for further clarification before turning to the sample and the ensuing ethical considerations. A discussion of chosen methods follows before finally completing the chapter with a look at how the keeping of a research diary enabled me to both reflect on my own perceptions of phenomena and to keep a record of pertinent developments.

Within this chapter I therefore hope to illustrate some of the complexities that are embedded in developing a qualitative methodology that is sensitive to my area of research, whilst adopting a sensitive, ethical and respectful approach to data collection. Furthermore, as 'a good methodology is more a critical design attitude to be found always at work throughout a study, rather than confined within a brief chapter called "Methodology"' (Gabriel, 2011:online), the methodological framework would enable me to remain focussed as the research developed.

My Research Paradigm – Long-Distance, Short-Distance or Varifocal?

As I make assertions about the things around me, it is 'the roles that these assertions imply for us [that] constantly redefine who we are' (Brown and England, 2005:445). Moreover, I do not claim to see things through innocent eyes, but through a filter whereby my worldview or paradigm is shaped by my life story, and my cultural, ethical and political values are added to, amended or renegotiated when necessary (Schostak, 2002).

Hence, uncertainty in qualitative research is something to be both embraced and wrestled with throughout my journey as a researcher (Savin-Baden, 2010). How I feel and how I am treated affect my interpretation of the world and the discourses surrounding it, and contribute to my views on research and how I undertake it (Cousin, 2009; Schostak, 2002; Mortimore, 2000). For example, as a mixed-heritage (supply) teacher, I identified with some of the experiences put forward by Basit et al. (2007) in a study of trainee minority ethnic teachers. The acknowledgement of such factors gave me an understanding of how my beliefs and values influenced my interpretation of the world, and an awareness of my 'gaze' ensured that I understood my influence on the interpretation of future findings. Indeed, on reading literature on equality, I noted the following in my diary:

> …also read two papers on equality to get a varied up-to-date reading on educational matters. Basit et al. (2007) gave a good insight (and I think I know it in part) as to what other minority ethnic teachers experience. Whilst this is not about supply teachers or related to my own research, in part it was! I recognise issues/themes cropping up that also come up in my research...being ignored, assumptions re quality of teaching etc. (Diary, 16th January 2013).

Such reading revealed that I was able to draw parallels from perceptions of minority ethnic teachers and those directed towards supply teachers. Subtle incidents in my own experience, were perhaps, not outwardly acknowledged but possibly stored in the subconscious, awoken only during data collection and analysis. Further readings also prompted an awareness of my own beliefs and assumptions, and through reflexivity I understand how I interpret certain phenomena at specific times.

So it can be seen how my epistemology contributes to how I disseminate and communicate knowledge (Opie, 2004), in the complex and holistic world of social interactions. Consequently, the meanings that are attributed to such interactions by the participants in the study ensure that I have to be sensitive to my own biography and social identity, and thus critical reflection is a key factor as I set about their interpretation (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998, cited in Castellan, 2010; Cousin, 2010). By acknowledging my ontological and epistemological assumptions, self-awareness and reflexivity enable me to question actions, and widen my understanding of behaviour whilst acknowledging that I am not wholly detached from my research.

As such, my research paradigm encompasses the 'philosophical assumptions that guide and direct thinking and action' (Mertens, 2015:8). The next section discusses my understanding of paradigms and offers an explanation of the interpretive lens introduced in Chapter 1.

In order to offer explanation, I return briefly to Phase A of the doctoral course where new researchers were encouraged to examine different paradigms. From this I was able to gain a better appreciation of my epistemological and ontological positioning and my understanding and interpretation of the 'truth'. The recognition of my own understanding of events would shape how I developed my methodological stance since:

> Without nominating a paradigm as the first step, there is no basis for subsequent choices regarding methodology, methods, literature or research design (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006:online).

However, as Grix (2004:171) argues, 'all research takes place within a paradigm', it is just a question of being aware of it.

From my investigation of paradigms I learned that to the structuralist researcher the worldview is positivist – physical, observable and dependent on an objectivist view of empirical data. Hypotheses and theories are tested under a detailed plan. Hence in simplistic terms research is conducted in a value-free setting devoid of researcher bias in order that 'knowledge is immunized and protected from the unwarranted intrusion of subjective ideas' (Crook and Garratt, 2011:214). This world view did not sit comfortably with my own background as a supply teacher in its non-value free setting or with my quest to get participants to offer up their own individual experiences. I believe that education research and its objects of study (people, cultures, systems) are contextually situated and cannot be treated in the same manner as scientific or medical research (Yilmaz, 2013, Yates, 2004). Furthermore, Yilmaz asserts that rather than deductive reasoning associated with quantitative research 'qualitative studies are concerned with process, context, interpretation, meaning or understanding through inductive reasoning' (Yilmaz, 2013:313).

This better reflected my own understanding of phenomena. This meant that I thus refuted the positivist, reductionist paradigm that does not recognise the idiosyncrasies that form part of the social and cultural world experienced by the individual in favour of a more complex understanding of human behaviour – an interpretivist view.

Continuing to investigate post-structuralist paradigms I found, for example, that an investigation of the construction of the stratified world and its three overlapping layers (Bhaskar, 1998) allowed me to consider whether actions are caused (or not) by seen or unseen mechanisms. However, as my reading and interests in post-structuralism expanded, I found that unlike Bhaskar, who favoured the inclusion of statistical analysis within critical theory, I found it difficult to accept such clear-cut data analysis. Consequently, I believed that the complexity and nuances of qualitative data played an important part when considering the role of power in relation to discourse and practice. Indeed:

> Discourse is not just a way of speaking or writing, but the whole 'mental set' and ideology which enclosed the thinking of all members of a given society (Barry, 2009:170).

Certainly, I would argue that as supply teachers and educators, we cannot escape the power discourses that surround us and which are structured and regulated by institutions (Leaton Gray, 2006). These, I believe, may contribute to the understanding of notions of professionalism, as identity becomes entwined in the tensions that such discourses bring.

As discussed earlier, the interpretivist framework that supports my research piqued my interest in Foucault's theoretical concepts around discourse, surveillance (as a power mechanism) and the intertwining of power and knowledge. This prompted thoughts concerning ways in which I could examine concepts of professionalism and the supply teacher. However, as Ball (2013a:5) posits, the allure of Foucault is 'to be disconcerted' by him, to be open to new possibilities rather than to confine oneself to his theories as such. It is this understanding with which I use Foucauldian concepts and tools to help explore my data from a critical aspect. At the same time, I am able to challenge and expand my own thinking by keeping an open mind on developments around theoretical viewpoints. It is this outlook that contributes to my understanding of theory and enables me to later revisit and complement aspects of Foucauldian theory. Hence, later on in the thesis, I draw on Deleuze to expand on concepts of power mechanisms in contemporary society. Indeed Foucault (1971, cited in O'Farrell 2005:9) himself argues:

> I don't write a book so that it will be the final word; I write a book so that other books are possible, not necessarily written by me.

The next section thus discusses how applying a Foucauldian lens to the data helped me to unpack and investigate the data that arose from investigating the following research questions and objectives:

- How do we construct our professional status as supply teachers?
- How is the professional status of supply teachers constructed by educational policy and perceived by other educators?

- Was there ever a traditional role for supply teachers and if so, has it become marginalised?
- Do supply teachers have fixed identities?

Opening the Box – Foucauldian Concepts and Analytical Tools

In this section I will offer a brief outline of how the works of Foucault offered me a 'thinking base' rather than a confinement to any specific school of theory as I set about analysing interview data around the construction of professionalism. Furthermore, understanding how theory is able to cross disciplines – Foucault's perspectives are employed in areas of study from feminism (McNay, 1992) to post-colonial studies (Said, 1978; Hall, 1992) – demonstrates how critical theory can inform my own research. Indeed Hall (1992), in his study of cultural identity, was able to draw upon the impact of critical theory on feminism to enlighten his own analysis stating:

> As the thief in the night, it broke in: interrupted, made an unseemly noise, seized the time, crapped on the table of cultural studies…now that's where I really discovered the gendered nature of power (Hall, 1992 cited in Jeffries, 2014).

I was mindful of Ball's (2013a) suggestion that the sinews of power, as they compound our teaching practice, affect who we are as educators, as performativity in the shape of tables, grids and ranks becomes 'embedded in mundane practices and social relationships' (Ball, 2013a:6) since:

> The use of power attempts to amend the ways in which individuals act, so that their actions are more amenable to policies or politics of the institution (Oliver, 2010:129).

Thus taken-for-granted situations, immersed in power/knowledge discourses become an historical 'given'. Hence in certain circumstances, seemingly unjust conditions become the 'norm' for certain groups. Yet Foucault posits that power circulates and individuals 'are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power' (Foucault, 1980a:98).

It can therefore be argued that Foucauldian ideas, concepts and arguments invite us to reflect both 'behind and beyond' issues of policy and theory to 'investigate

the everyday functioning and effects of relations of power, forms of knowledge and ways of relating ethically to oneself and others' (Deacon, 2006:1).

Although post-structuralism believes that a linguistic interpretation is limited as discussed earlier, it is important to note that Foucault does not refute the strength and impact of language, accepting that words are important but stressing that they can also have a double meaning or even paradox (Ball, 2013a). I would argue that for the supply teacher the slipperiness of language brings certain issues of critical examination of belonging to the fore. Certainly, the mere phrase 'temporary' teacher or 'substitute' teacher' is surely a contradiction, since all who complete teacher training become teachers regardless of the nature of the teaching employment. But the adjectives used to describe the supply teacher may somehow imply inferiority. Apropos Foucault's 1966 doctoral argument (later *Madness and Civilisation*) regarding social categorisation, and further to Oliver's (2010) discussion around social and cultural definition, it is interesting to explore how being defined as temporary or substitute teachers may shape reactions both to, and from, these educators. Indeed, being given a 'substituted' item in a store, often implies a slightly imperfect, substandard product worthy of a discount and begs the question whether the increasing use of the Americanism 'substitute teacher' as opposed to the tradition English description of 'supply teacher', may further affect notions of professionalism.

In addition, if I apply Foucault's notion of contradiction to the deployment of the supply teacher, then at a micro-level, I would use a simple illustration of the supply teacher who says that (s)he doesn't mind getting a call at 8.30 am to do a half-day's work. In fact, the person may well mean quite the opposite, but may not have the security of regular work or the financial means to turn the job down, so ultimately accepts it. This example, I believe, allows a glimpse of the complexities of power operating within relationships and the subtlety of how it operates between parties.

Remaining with the notion of contradiction and paradox and by using Foucault's tools to investigate the slipperiness of language, then we can also see from an accountability perspective that there is increasing criticism amongst educators

around government policy and the framework used by the OFSTED regulatory body regarding lesson observations. In effect, OFSTED appears to have redefined the concept of 'satisfactory' with regard to school management or to a particular individual's lesson, to mean 'failing'. This then renders a 'different' rather than a 'double' meaning to the interpretation of the word. I would argue that such structuralist views fail to take into account further aspects or context surrounding the individual phenomena that give rise to such ratings. Consequently, a Foucauldian lens encourages me to look at the critical aspect of how such discourse is legitimated on a daily basis via the experiences of individual supply teachers.

Foucauldian tools of analysis also enable critical exploration as the power/knowledge relationship embeds itself in numerous networks both socially and professionally. However, remaining with education I can appreciate how the versatility of Foucault's concepts of discourse and surveillance enabled Maynard (2007) to offer an insight into the accountability of teachers. Similarly, studies (Allen, 2012; Piro, 2008; Allan, 1996) offer understanding of how surveillance is able to transcend everyday activities:

> Panopticism is one of the characteristic traits of our society. It's a type of power that is applied to individuals in the form of continuous individual supervision, in the form of control, punishment and compensation, and in the form of correction, that is, the molding and transformation of individuals in terms of certain norms. This threefold aspect of panopticism – supervision, control, correction – seems to be a fundamental and characteristic dimension of the power relations that exist in our society (Foucault, 2000a:70).

The Panopticon metaphor (drawn from Bentham's prison design of placing a guard or monitor at a vantage point) encouraged Foucault to explore how the modern democratic state used surveillance mechanisms to observe and regulate all of its citizens through the discipline produced by the power/knowledge nexus.

As Deacon (2006) reminds us, however, control via power does not always take the same form, but is dependent on the various mechanisms at its disposal. Looking at Foucault's notion of surveillance as a disciplinary power, and acknowledging the above research, offers me ideas for the exploration of how the power of

surveillance as a disciplinary tool may affect the behaviour and interaction between supply teachers and others.

I am also aware, however, that as time evolves so does the mechanism of surveillance as panopticism becomes more subtle in both general society and within establishments such as schools or hospitals. Stories once confined to James Bond novels, become a feature of twenty-first-century living. Indeed, Edward Snowden[17] (paradoxically a traitor or hero), describes a culture where a side effect of the development of surveillance technology means that lawyers, doctors, priests, accountants and others who undertake confidential work may now be in a compromised situation. Clearly, if we now look at mechanisms of surveillance in contemporary times, in the designs of space within shopping malls or via town and store CCTV cameras, the notion that we are being watched has indeed become, in most instances, the accepted norm. The reach of state surveillance, through its tentacles of power, is clearly far stretching. Could it be that the absence of the oppressor has not diminished our knowledge of being observed, but rather has served to modify our behaviour, adopting the 'code of the oppressor' (Mills, 2003:46)? Through the understanding Foucauldian concepts of surveillance, I thus introduce and draw on aspects of Deleuze to appreciate the dynamics of changes and shifts in contemporary policies that may impact on the supply teacher and notions of professionalism.

The brief insight into Foucauldian concepts is not meant to be an in-depth overview of Foucauldian theory, but to highlight how some areas offer me insight into the analysis of phenomena specific to my research. However, Foucault draws criticism from both his contemporaries and later authors who highlight some of his alleged blind-spots. For example, it is well known that Foucault's work revolved around historical context, yet he is accused of making up facts to suit his theory (Murphy, 2013; Oliver, 2010; McNay, 1992), which is exemplified in the falling out between Foucault and his one-time student and contemporary post-structuralist, Derrida. The historical context is also alluded to by Hope (2013) who suggests that some

[17] A former CIA computer analyst who leaked classified information on the USA's use of surveillance on both ordinary citizens and those in power. He now lives in exile in Russia.

intellectuals consider that Foucault neglected the role of surveillance and the techniques deployed in the 1960s and 1970s, preferring to focus instead on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century methods. Similarly, the way in which Foucault explores and links the past to the present 'shakes the cosiness that historians have traditionally enjoyed', ensuring accusations of playing 'fast and loose' with historical data and time (Allan, 1996:229), and contributes to this apparent lack of detail. However, taking Kendall and Wickham's (1999) advice to employ history as a way of diagnosing the present is perhaps the way Foucault intended his analysis to be used, and it is in this spirit that I have drawn on concepts of his works and theory to offer understanding of my own research data.

Locating Myself in the Research

Epistemology or interpretation of the world around me and its relations with methodology, procedures, knowledge and truth can be 'a contentious area for researchers' (Opie, 2004:21) regardless of subject or discipline. As I prepared to listen to the accounts of the participants, I was aware of my role as a researcher and wanted to avoid a 'them and us scenario' since this role 'immediately disturbs a taken-for-granted security of "knowing who I am in relation to others"' (Schostak, 2002:50) in the quest to articulate knowledge and ascribe meaning to experience. One the one hand I was *a part* of the group of supply teachers whilst, on the other, I was *apart* from them as an interviewer. MacLure's (2003:7) argument that 'the discursive and the real…are always entangled', demonstrates the dilemma of talking to others in our qualitative research without separation into a similar 'them and us' situation – with them becoming the 'Other' – as in the doctor/patient scenario. Indeed, this challenge can be illustrated in the following diary extract:

> Supply teachers, permanent teachers, senior management? Maybe include TAs/cover supervisors? How big will these groups be? Will they remain part of the study for the whole year? How will I be viewed? Co-worker, enemy, spy? If I'm truthful, I'm worried whether senior management (Heads etc.) will consider my research as important, and give me quality interview time (Diary, July 2012).

However, Rubin and Rubin (1995, cited in Lechuga, 2012) postulate that potential tensions and contradictions are a key part of qualitative inquiry, thus the

acknowledgement of tensions was central to successful analysis. Moreover, understanding my own biases was critical to the interpretation of data. Hence keeping a research diary helped me to reflect on my own views and interpretation of data gathered from the participants discussed in the next section.

Are We All in This Together? – Selecting the Sample

A total of twelve participants (eight supply teachers plus four permanent teachers) were interviewed over a period of eighteen months from August 2012. In order to gather a range of different views and alternative perspectives of phenomena, the opportunity sample enabled me to obtain data from teachers with different genders and lengths of service.

As the research was not affiliated to any particular school, both supply and non-supply participants were independent in their decisions to join the study. Whilst this alleviated many problems regarding requests and accessibility (Knight, 2002), ethical aspects of research and confidentiality had to be adhered to and are discussed further on in the chapter.

Furthermore, it was important to ensure that I recruited participants who were willing to 'open up' about experiences and perceptions so I initially contacted a few of the supply teachers who had taken part in an earlier intervention I had undertaken during part A of the doctorate in the hope that I would be introduced to further potential participants.

In addition, one of the early recruits to the supply cohort – Raf – was an asset. By working a wider geographical area than me, Raf was able to introduce me to three others supply teachers who became part of my research group. This was important as it meant that rather than being reliant on supply teachers with whom I came into contact, I was able to sample a wider audience and thus create a group that were able to contribute to the research based on their individual understanding and interpretation of professionalism and identity.

Consequently, by interviewing a cohort of participants working in various schools in the North West, a range of situations were encountered and explored. The cross-

section of participants in the supply group all brought with them experiences which vary due to age, length of time teaching, job titles achieved previously and, of course, reasons for undertaking supply work.

The supply cohort was complemented by a small group of permanent teachers that included a Head Teacher and a Deputy Head Teacher (see Appendix E) who had worked alongside, or had been instrumental in choosing, supply teachers to cover staff shortages. Including two groups of participants allows for the 'credibility, criticality, authenticity and integrity' of findings (Fade, 2003 cited in Draper, 2004:645) whilst notions of reflexivity lead to transparency of interpretation, and highlight the links between the positioning of myself as researcher and the participant. This allowed me to look for any commonalities, should there be any, and by 'placing viewpoints into relationship with each other' (Schostak, 2002:78), also enabled better judgement and interpretation of findings through comparisons, contrast or conflict.

Ethical Considerations

Although the notion of trust, which was discussed earlier, was interwoven into the subject roles I occupied (researcher/colleague), clarification of how the data was to be used was uppermost and needed the consent of the participant. To jeopardise trust is to jeopardise the whole of the research (Schostak, 2002), but intervention into the life of another means more than that. Thus, Hammersley and Traianou (2007) advocate that the main ethical areas to consider are potential harm autonomy, privacy, reciprocity, and equity. Accordingly, adherence to the guidelines set out in 2011 by the British Education Research Association (BERA) and the MMU handbook were strictly followed as I drew up two documents:

- an introduction and clear outline to my research (Appendix B); in addition my contact details and those of my supervisor (for verification purposes) were also given;
- a consent form (for either supply teacher or permanent teacher) to be signed by both myself and the participant, allowing authorisation of the recording of all interviews and the use of information gathered for the sole

purpose of my thesis. Moreover, the form contained a stipulation that any information used would be made anonymous and also allowed the participant to leave the research cohort if requested (Appendix C).

Despite my positioning as a supply teacher and colleague of some of the participants, I was aware of the need to avoid any coercion and so the inclusion of an opt-out clause (Piper and Simons, 2011) was incorporated into the research design. Indeed, trustworthiness is seen to increase by confirming again at the end of the interview that the participant is happy to allow the data to be used. By becoming public, ethics then takes on a political dimension which has to be addressed otherwise 'if that trust was jeopardised the research too might well be jeopardised' (Phillips, 1995, cited in Schostak, 2002:178). Thus anonymity (change of individuals' names and schools referred to) plus an awareness of sensitivities played a great part in ensuring that trust was facilitated.

By adhering to a transparent code of ethics any issues of impartiality and confidentiality were addressed. However, similar to Gabriel's (2011) advice regarding awareness of methodological issues, Schostak (2002) quite rightly acknowledged that the ethical implication is not just simply the obtaining of the participants' consent and should not be reduced to the methodology section of the thesis alone. Rather, ethical consideration should be a conscious theme running throughout the duration of both the research and the writing-up process. Hence, ethical obligations were a constant throughout my research and, by drawing on the above, I proposed that any issues raised during the course of my research needed to be identified and dealt with early on. Professionalism was uppermost when gathering information on personal experiences and also meant that transparency had to be understood by both myself and the individual participant.

Gathering Meaningful Data – Exploring the Methods Employed

To gather data I prioritised face-to-face semi-structured interviews with participants. As a supply teacher with a business background, how I decided upon this method for gathering information was perhaps subconscious or intuitive (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012). Indeed, for the purposes of collecting qualitative

data, the interview method remains the most common (Moriarty, 2011) as it allows investigation of aspects previously unnoticed and, I would argue, enables the participant the chance to voice their own opinions.

Initial research design included the opportunity to use information from focus groups. By enabling a small group of participants to meet at a neutral site, the intention was to allow for a discussion to develop with participants being encouraged to share their own versions of 'reality'. However, during early discussions with potential interviewees the subject of anonymity played an important part in the decision to participate. Thus the formation of focus groups was discounted as a means of data collection as I wished to compromise neither ethics nor anonymity.

Eliciting aspects of an individual's life story is a very different phenomenon to seeking specific information. Reminded again of the uncertainty in qualitative research Savin-Baden (2010), I believe that in order to appreciate the complexity of personal experiences proffered by participants, the depth of focus of one-to-one interviews enables a deeper exploration and understanding of the phenomena discussed (Bell and Waters, 2014; Ritchie, 2013). To illustrate this point further, I want to momentarily return to a moment in Phase A of the Doctorate of Education programme where I had wanted to discover the extent to which supply staff had been allowed access to IT for the purpose of morning registration of pupils. In that instance, I had devised a short questionnaire in order to elicit responses to the simple questions I had set. To that end, the data collection and interpretation technique was fit for purpose for that exercise, as the intention was to clarify whether the practice of IT access was, or was not, widespread. However, this quasi-scientific viewpoint is dependent on the collection and classification of empirical data, and is also dependent on an assumed homogeneity regarding the undertakings of the supply teacher within school. Whilst this method ignored the variable of human behaviour, which I did not need at that time, such an approach would be not applicable to the data collection necessary for the research objectives of this thesis.

So, after careful consideration of the three options of interviewing (structured, semi-structured or unstructured) and giving consideration to my research question(s), I decided to develop interviews on a semi-structured basis, allowing forty-five to sixty minutes per interview. In this way, I would avoid the restrictions of the structured interview which I felt compared with a verbal questionnaire and I could alter questions to fit with the flow of conversation if need be (Birmingham and Wilkinson, 2003). On the same basis, by dismissing the option of the unstructured interview I was therefore ensuring that I would not get involved in freewheeling interviews which could perhaps offer much irrelevant information and take up too much time for very little gain. However, both of these structures do have advantages – the structured interview allows for control and thus adheres to timing, whilst the unstructured enables a good rapport to be built which could lead to disclosure of otherwise unknown information, remembering that the latter must be balanced against the already-mentioned time constraints and the possibility of the interviewer becoming the interviewee. Furthermore, with the absence of an agenda there is the likelihood that the too-lightly structured interview will end up being shaped by naïve theories and lose focus of the actual research question (Knight, 2002). Conversely, DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) suggest that there is no such thing as a totally unstructured interview as there is always ongoing observation, note-taking and questions, whilst Knight (2002) opines that a competent researcher is aware that a certain amount of orchestration, control and direction is necessary. Given this information, it was crucial that I, in the role of researcher, decided on how structured (if at all) the shape of the interview would be. Sample interview transcripts can be found in Appendices F and G.

The Dry Run – Trialling an Interview

Before beginning data collection in August 2012, I decided to allocate myself 'focus days' during June and July, in order to concentrate on sorting potential interview groups and consider interview techniques. Unlike a cookery book, offering perfect baking through precise instructions, no textbook could offer a perfect recipe for my own unique research design (Barbour and Schostak, 2011). Therefore, focussing in this way introduced a sense of organisation, psychologically if not physically as 'It

doesn't take a genius to conduct social research. What it takes is a little thought, a little planning and a lot of practice' (Birmingham and Wilkinson, 2003:2).

However, DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006:1) rightly point out that whilst interviews are devised to get to know the participant better, the purpose of knowing depends upon the 'research question and the disciplinary perspective of the interviewer'. Hence a trial interview in August 2012 with a supply colleague was instrumental in this respect. The reasons for doing this trial were primarily twofold: to have a dry run of my questions, including noting how I could develop them during the interview or indeed eliminate any ambiguous questions (Cousin, 2010; Knight, 2002), plus to check that I could use a voice recorder properly. The latter is not a glib comment but a practicality, so that when I worked with participants the interview would be conducted both smoothly and professionally.

Finally, armed with a Gantt chart, a list of potential participants, a great degree of nervous anticipation and the acceptance that 'there is a need for continuous reflection on the possible effects of one's writing, even if one can never predict absolutely what those effects will be' (MacLure, 2003:118), I was thus propelled into the uncertainties of research and data collection in a complex world.

A Question of Accessibility

Logistical factors were paramount to choosing a meeting-place, whereby the participant felt confident enough to take part in my research (Moriarty, 2011; Knight, 2002) and a range of locations were used for the twelve participants, dependent on accessibility and flexibility of the individual. Each interview was initially allocated a forty-five-minute slot as a guideline. The reason for this was twofold: to allow enough time to enable me to build rapport and gather meaningful data from the open-ended questions that formed the framework of the interview, and to ensure that the interviewee had an approximate idea of how long the interview would take. In this way, I felt that transparency would enable the interviewee to have more empathy should the interview overrun (I anticipated that some interviews may be longer) and would ascribe this to my quest for obtaining meaningful information.

Whilst neutral venues were preferable, no problems were envisaged in the choice, as again this related to ethical perspectives of trust and anonymity. This was acceptable since I believed this also offered some degree of control to the participant, and hence, I would argue, a more relaxed atmosphere, conducive to the elicitation of information. Coffee bars were the location for interviews with two of the participants and the less formal seating arrangements of such venues reduced any tension of the interview situation (Birmingham and Wilkinson, 2003). The downside to this was of course that these were public places and I had no control over the noise level or the occasional interruption of other voices on the recording. However, these provided ideal neutral and informal meeting places and, as one of the participants participated in further interviews over the year, became the norm. Three other participants took up the invitation to come to my home, when offered the choice of location, whilst others preferred me to visit them at their place of work or their home. One interview was conducted in a university meeting room, which gave more of an air of formality to the interview, but then offered less distraction than a more public venue. Location and timing proved more difficult to pin down for two of the supply participants, so, given that 'We all know that this setting is part of the real world, which can be messy and disorganised, and full of challenging, unexpected and problematical twists and turns' (Birmingham and Wilkinson, 2003:3), it was ultimately decided that telephone interviews would have to be undertaken in these instances.

Mindful of the practical aspects, in that 'it appeared in the study that telephone interview participants were somewhat more reticent than those taking part in face-to-face interviews' (Irvine et al., 2010:4) and that there was indeed a lack of visual prompts and other non-verbal cues (Lechuga, 2012) meant that this was not my first choice of interview method.

Transcribing the Interviews

In the quest to obtain data that reflected the individual views of participants, it was vital to remember that 'there is a distance that neither empathy nor sympathy can close' (Schostak, 2002:39). Moreover, 'Where the statisticians require purification,

the qualitative researcher sees the raw, the ill-fitting, and refuse to compromise' (Schostak, 2002:80), thus each transcript was rich in complex and extensive information about individual perceptions of the life of a supply teacher and, as such, relevant to my research. Hence, the recording of interviews was paramount to accurate transcribing of experiences.

Heeding MacLure's (2003) warning that there is always the possibility that the message may go astray and that semi-audible dialogue or poor sentence structure often necessitates the use of judgement calls by external transcribers (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabree, 2006), I was adamant that I alone should carry out this task despite the awareness of the lengthy process this incurred. Indeed, transcribing the interviews took time. Whilst I had initially allowed thirty minutes per recording, this was increased to two hours per transcription per interview.

Appreciating that how to 'be there' is a challenge for qualitative research as 'issues of power and authority will always return to haunt research writing' (MacLure, 2003:104), the fact that I, too, may have had similar experiences was not the same as walking in another person's shoes, for we all ascribe our own meanings to events.

I believed there was also the necessity of being able to interpret any silences or changes in tone noted in the participant's voice. In addition, I refer to the blink versus wink analogy (Geertz, 1973, cited in Draper, 2004) and the difference between the two actions. The blink is involuntary and as such meaningless, whereas the wink can be described in depth as an action that occurs on demand. The wink, therefore, is context specific and as such the meaning can be interpreted as to the situation or experience, giving the depth and richness required. However, unlike the blink/wink, silences could be captured on a recorder. During transcription of the interviews, the ability to acknowledge the coughs and silences that occurred added context to the interpretation of participants' experiences.

In the gathering of subjective data, and from a post-structuralist stance, this substitution for words formed part of the discourse. Consequently, should a third party, rather than myself, have transcribed the interview and ignored the silences,

then the context of the exchange could have inadvertently shifted during transcription and affected the interpretation.

By transcribing the interviews myself, I also acknowledged room for self-improvement in technique. Reflecting on the taped interviews was beneficial in realising what, as an interviewer, I could have done better. For example, ensuring that the funnelling technique employed (Birmingham and Wilkinson, 2003) was better utilised in order to either address certain topics in a more sensitive way or to bring conversation back on track.

Adopting a Critical Stance

In order to explore the realm of the supply teacher, however, and to investigate any taken-for-granted perspectives and associations, I had to adopt a critical perspective towards the role of power and be able to challenge my own existing perceptions when confronted with those who offer an alternative version of reality. Thus a Foucauldian approach to data analysis, as described earlier, entails an investigation of the ways in which situations become reified as historical 'givens'. By examining the historical background of socially and politically reified social arrangements, a critical approach seeks to understand the role of marginal groups, either via acceptance or collaboration in the maintenance of oppressive systems and should try 'to address the intersections of power across systems, institutions and societal practices' (Cannella and Lincoln, 2011:88).

Through a critical investigation of power and its enmeshment with knowledge, as manifested through contemporary discursive practices the research may reveal whether, as supply teachers, we have perhaps collaborated with the general acceptance of some of the 'unjust' aspects of our work and the normalisation of certain arrangements allowing them to be reified as 'givens'. In other words, the research may highlight if there is room for agency and autonomy within practices or whether it is relinquished by normalisation.

For example, if normalisation is compounded by the fact that discourses operate in multiplicity and are never singular, then the discourse of remuneration at policy

level, which incorporates performance-related pay (PRP)[18] for teachers, may influence how local mechanisms of power/knowledge operate at employee level. Critical examination may raise the question, for example, of whether or not supply teachers are complicit in enabling recruitment agencies to amend and downgrade pay scales. At the same time, however, it must be asked how and if the supply teacher is able to find negotiating space within the power/knowledge nexus to negate any detrimental moves towards remuneration.

Whilst Mills (2003) warns us that discourses, although connected through a similarity in origin, are not wholly cohesive but always contain an element of conflict, so Barry (2009:170) explains that as political power embeds itself within the many spheres of discourse, it ensures that the 'possibility of fundamental change and transformation may come to seem very remote'. This, I believe, may mean that challenging the 'given' is not an easy task for those at shop-floor level. Thus through a critical examination of the 'thick description' from my data I am able to investigate unique behaviours and interpretations of events, contexts and situations (Yilmaz, 2013) and explore how human action is infused with meanings and motives, which cannot be explained by reduction to biological mechanisms (Draper, 2004).

Keeping it Real

As my own story wove into my research, I kept a journal or diary to which I would add my own experiences and thoughts as I went about my teaching. This was deemed necessary so that experiences could be contrasted and reflexivity could highlight any possible biases I held, thus aiding transparency. Indeed, I recalled the comment 'When the world wants to take apart your study, will the decisions you made hold water?' (Clough and Nutbrown 2012:x). Although I did not write the journal on a daily basis, it was important to begin this as soon as possible (Knight, 2002) in order to jot down anything I thought could be useful regarding classroom incidents or conversations with colleagues. Keeping a journal or diary highlighted

[18] The 2013 School Teachers' Pay & Conditions Document (STPCD) approved by Michael Gove, Secretary of State for Education, sought to abolish pay progress through fixed pay scales, replacing it with a system of performance-related pay (PRP) for all (permanent) teachers.

tensions in my own experiences and thoughts. To try to clarify this point, I refer back to an extract from an entry in my diary, made shortly after the initial interview (chosen method) with one of the supply cohort:

> It felt quite surreal initially. Hence, we began the conversation by just chatting normally and catching up before I switched on the recorder (previous consent given). Self-consciousness on both parts hindered by my decision to shift location to a quieter area (my nervousness for getting right, showing through)… (Diary, 21st August 2012)

This entry, as Clough and Nutbrown (2012:xi) advocate, encourages the 'critical need to justify (their) enquiry…at every stage' thus leading to 'more persuasive and effective research studies'.

Similarly, the following diary extract details my thoughts concerning interview questions:

> Reading again more books on undertaking research. Whilst Knight (2002) advocates having specific questions, I intend to use these as a guide and check that I've covered them. I will probe and the interviewee will open up. I know my research questions/objectives but I think they're overpowering if asked outright. The conversation can be steered towards its objective (Diary, August 2012).

I also noted down any educational policy information from the news on television or radio that I considered conducive to my research, and collected educational cuttings from the daily paper, particularly *The Guardian* newspaper. In this way, I was able to build up a record of 'miscellaneous entries' which would otherwise have got lost or been forgotten (Altrichter and Holly, 2011:44). Aware of the growing mound of newspaper cuttings, I decided to keep a computerised log of information on educational policy etc. which formed a basic library of events to assist with developing the context to the thesis. As such the journal(s) and mini-library became a focus for thinking about the various issues I planned to explore (Schostak, 2002) and helped me to both plan and reflect, proving invaluable as an aide-memoire for incidents and news otherwise overlooked. The opportunity to attend the NASUWT 2014 Supply Teachers' Conference was also instrumental in contributing to further understanding of the opportunities and threats presented to supply teachers through contemporary educational policy. Through listening and

speaking to others I further appreciated how interpretation of policy was implemented and how this impacted on supply teachers in different geographical areas of the UK. At the same time, I was encouraged to reflect on my own journey.

Summary

This chapter has offered the reader a glimpse into the construction of research design as I prepared to find out the views of others in my quest to understand concepts of professionalism and the role of the supply teacher. The chapter illustrates how following a methodological framework that reflected my ontological and epistemological views was instrumental in the construction of a research framework that allowed me to investigate the practices and power relations that shape us as subjects and regulate our conduct within specific institutions at specific times (MacLure, 2003). Although not envisaging any issue in obtaining information in this respect, and eager to commence, the preparation for my journey also reveals how comfort in my own security and knowledge of professionalism was disturbed as I reflected and debated the choices of data collection.

Gathering information, in this case, however, was not unnecessarily hampered by gatekeepers since supply teachers were considered to be self-employed, whilst the head teacher and senior staff were also able to make autonomous decisions to partake in the study. Nonetheless, ethical codes (in particular anonymity) were adhered to, and the opportunity to opt out at any point was offered. All of this, I believe, allowed me to better explore data drawn from the lived experiences of others, enabling analysis of similarities and differences. Above all, the methodological underpinning offered a framework through which challenges to perceptions of professionalism could be critically viewed and discussed in the following chapters on data discussion and analysis. The next chapter therefore is a discussion of the data relating to the supply teacher within the school or classroom.

Chapter 4: Making Sense of Discourse and Surveillance in a Micro Environment

> *Power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations.* Foucault (1990:94)

A Glimpse into the Classroom

My research aimed to understand more fully the role of professionalism and identity and the dynamic role of power relations, implied or realised, in such construction. Hence this chapter begins with a glimpse of a supply teacher's day, first from the point of view of a head teacher and second with a snapshot of a day's assignment from a supply teacher. Whilst the data are drawn from different schools these accounts aim to offer the reader an understanding of how discursive practices and ensuing discourses may differ as supply teachers journey between schools encountering practices each tailored to fit the specific institution and school ethos.

Following a brief discussion of this data, the chapter identifies three dominant themes that emerged from the analysis of both this and the wider research data. The themes are then outlined before each is discussed in more depth. This is followed by a look at the deployment of surveillance mechanisms within schools and how this affects discursive practice and the positioning of the supply teacher. I then offer a summary of the analysis.

As I began my research I was also aware that individuals in the sample may be at different stages in their professional career and each would have their own story to tell. Here, two supply teachers offer the reader a glimpse into their lives and decision to take on supply work:

> OK. Well I became a supply teacher back in October 2009 because I'd reached actual retirement age for teachers…I was 60 in July of that year so I'd given up full-time work, erm, I thought that was it…I didn't want to work anymore. I'd had some illness and so I thought I probably didn't want to work anymore but I began to feel very quickly…within a few weeks…I began to feel quite bored and, erm, the catalyst was walking past a local primary school when the children were playing out…So I want to do something, and I still like…I still enjoy…teaching. (Martin aged 64 – supply teacher)

> I didn't have like a permanent position and I was a bit fussy on what I actually wanted, so I thought I'd go on supply for a little bit. See what schools I liked and what sort of things that I liked really. (Lucy aged 23 – supply teacher)

Contrasting these two extracts of data, it can be seen that the two individuals reveal very different reasons for entering supply teaching and each has different levels of experience. This may or may not affect how each makes sense of phenomena; hence it is through exploring their stories by drawing on my understanding of Foucauldian concepts relating to discourse that enables me to offer an insight into perceptions of supply teachers as educators.

Therefore, given Foucault's understanding of power, I ask: How does the supply teacher make sense of, and react to the networks of power in which they are immersed in their daily lives as educators? By highlighting the relationship between power and knowledge, I explore how disciplinary power contributes towards shaping aspects of professionalism through feeding into the wider notions of identity, autonomy and agency. In addition Foucault's metaphorical use of panopticism as a tool of surveillance enables further probing of the data to understand the power/knowledge relationship and its effect on discipline. It is drawing from Foucault's argument concerning the increasing influence of power of the 'norm' as it becomes established across the disciplines of modern society, and his belief that this brings with it a coercion of 'sameness' within professions ranging from teacher training to medical care, that offers me a tool to begin to try to understand how professionalism is perceived:

> For the marks that once indicated status, privilege and affiliation were increasingly replaced – or at least supplemented – by a whole range of degrees of normality indicating membership of a social body but also playing a part in the classification, hierarchization and distribution of rank. (Foucault, 1991:184)

It is examining the discursive practices of schools and schooling, particularly given the reforms referred to in Chapter 2 that may offer understanding of how discursive power can work at penalising supply teachers but also enable them, through means of a discursive gap, to claim back some of the ground that helps to maintain status and professional identity. I hope, therefore, to be able to understand how supply

teachers interpret their different experiences of discursive practices 'that operate in the same terrain' (Graham and Slee, 2008:5) where other staff may have different perceptions of the same phenomena. This will hopefully enable me to appreciate how supply teachers could be, at times, complicit within discursive power relationships, yet at others may proffer resistance for self-benefit, both of which contribute to notions of professionalism. I will begin with a glimpse of supply teaching from a management perspective.

School Policy and the Supply Teacher

Beginning with the notion of school ethos and discursive practices, head teacher, Georgina offers an insight into her school's cover policy:

> On the other hand, as well, for the supply teacher's benefit, we always ask them to write in our school book about their experience, and about how they felt about their experience has been in our school. Because we do have a policy where that when a supply teacher comes into our school, that they are made to feel very welcome. They are either shown around the school by myself, by the school business manager or by the deputy. And they will know what to do if they have a problem child, if you like, in their class. And I always explain to the supply teacher that I want it to be a good experience for the children but that I want it to be a good experience for them. You know, we need supply teachers and we want them to come and work in our school. (Georgina, head teacher)

Reading the School's Data

The extract reveals much about the discursive practices and power mechanisms within the school. Georgina is clearly proud of the measures she takes to ensure that supply staff are made welcome in the school, with senior management being the first point of contact on arrival. Georgina wants the experience for both the children and the supply teacher to be 'good' and therefore, discursive practices around classroom issues produce the supply teacher as a subject who is able to draw on insider knowledge of school policies to enhance the teaching/learning experience. Access to knowledge regarding specific pupils and so forth, subtly negotiates the discursive gap, reducing potential tensions and resistance by normalising behaviours and accountability in line with expectations of the school. The circulatory nature of power within schools is further highlighted in the practice

of the school book whereby supply teachers are able to leave comment at the end of the day, encouraging them to use their power to do so. At the same time, the balance of power towards the school intimates that there is a subtle *expectation* from the school that the supply teacher *will* write in the comment book. Consequently the book works on two levels as power circulates between the two parties, each one using their knowledge to portray and interpret phenomena. 'Knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true' (Hall, 1997:49). By 'wanting supply teachers to come to our school', we can note how the power, embedded within its practices is both relational and productive, aiming to include rather than repress. Without it 'nothing is achieved' (Hilferty, 2008:164).

This perspective can be contrasted with the experience of Martin, a supply teacher, albeit at a different school:

Martin: Difficult Positions

> Well, erm, a good example would be the assignment I did earlier on in the week where I arrived at the school – a school I'm very familiar with, and familiar with the way their day runs. They actually...in this particular school, the first lesson of the morning is a numeracy lesson, followed by a break and then the literacy lesson. The teacher's planning wasn't on the desk, there wasn't planning there. However, the numeracy lesson plan called for me to follow a particular programme that wasn't there. So the TA didn't know what it was what the teacher had been doing. I approached...because it's a two-form entry school…I asked the teacher in the other class, who was less than helpful, so I was then left to sort of…bear in mind, I had arrived quite literally on the minute because I had got the call very late, so I was having to do this while the children are there, which is not in my opinion very professional…it puts me in a very difficult position. So I've got the children reading while I find the materials that I'm going to need to do that particular lesson. I did find it… between myself and the TA we sort of collectively managed to find all of the materials. I felt that that's not the way I want to get ready for a lesson and that meant that I was going into that lesson only partially prepared because I am having to read the lesson notes, familiarise myself with the programme and deliver a lesson at the same time. (laughs) Which is not easy! (Martin, supply teacher)

Reading the Supply Teacher's Data

As both a researcher and a supply teacher how do I interpret this snippet from Martin's day and understand how discursive power shapes his role as a supply teacher? As is seen, and similar to the daily experiences of other supply teachers, Martin is immersed in, and engaged with, numerous discursive practices. Whilst it would appear that Martin has a familiarity with, and knowledge of, both teaching content (local discourse) and awareness of governmental expectations regarding delivery of a '*particular programme'* (wider discourse) it can be noted that he expects that information regarding further local procedure to be imparted from his 'permanent' counterpart as a matter of professional compliance. This he believes would enable him to undertake his classroom duties competently.

Here to illustrate power/knowledge fluidity I draw on the Foucault quotation at the start of the chapter and refer to the 'the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations' to highlight how Martin's subject positioning as a competent educator is displaced by the *'less than helpful*' attitude displayed by the teacher he consults. This can be contrasted with the ethos that Georgina purports to encompass her school, where although the dynamism of power and knowledge will still exist, the supply teacher appears to be more positively situated within ensuing discourse. But the power/knowledge dynamic in Martin's case at this moment favours the permanent teacher, who presumably knows the whereabouts of the necessary resources, rather than Martin.

From the extract it is apparent that Martin was able to rescue an otherwise disastrous situation, through his ability *'to think on his feet'* and draw on his previous experiences. Yet how was he able to enact this? First, it is important to remember that discursive practices, as mechanisms within the institution, circulate power which is 'deployed and exercised through a net-like organisation' (Foucault, 1980a:98) to the players within it, depending on the negotiation of subject positioning (again this can be seen within Georgina's account and the positioning of senior staff or the use of the comment book). Second, there are multiple discourses in circulation within the classroom at the same time, in which the subject's (i.e.

Martin as supply teacher) identity is constituted according to his subject positioning within each discourse.

Returning to Foucault's argument that discourse produces a place for the subject – subject positioning – where we (including the reader) locate ourselves accordingly then 'it is discourse, not the subjects who speak it, which produces knowledge' (Hall, 1997:55). As Britzman (2000, cited in MacLure, 2003:175) argues, 'Discourses produce relations of power and communities of consent and dissent' thus Martin is able to negotiate a path and give meaning to his actions. Furthermore, as the data is unpacked Martin offers an insight into the construction of his moral universe and positioning as a professional.

Throughout Martin's text a series of binary oppositions pertaining to organised/disorganised, helpful/less helpful and professional/unprofessional is set up which offers us 'a glimpse of the categories around which critical aspects of a variety of discourses in circulation around the classroom are organised' (Lee, 1992:online). MacLure (2003) argues that it is through the use of such binaries that Martin is able to present a positive version of himself and invest in a particular kind of identity through the setting up of oppositions between himself and the others caught up in the discourse. Similar to MacLure's example (2003), Martin sets up a binary opposition that distinguishes himself and his concern over the day's activities from those who appear not to share the same commitment (i.e. the other teacher) whilst also constructing a moral dimension to the scenario. Power and knowledge is negotiated around these binaries.

These two contrasting accounts offer the reader an introduction to 'the curious and amorphous space' of the classroom (MacLure, 2003:16), which gives rise to many discourses, sometimes complementing, often competing, as they 'overlap and infect each other' in the construction of 'reality'. Having offered glimpses into the start of the working day and a snippet of Martin's experience in the classroom, it is now prudent to offer further insight into the workings of the institutional apparatus and its technologies to understand the relationship between knowledge and power within the classroom, as the supply teacher gets caught up in various discourses.

Hence, as I begin to interrogate the 'realities' of others I will look for contradictions or patterns of similarity (themes) which may weave through individual experiences and shed some light on notions of identity and the construction of professionalism.

Themes Emerging from the Wider Data

Following Foucault's argument that the circulation of power can be analysed through looking at the mundane practices of daily life and the mechanisms that shape daily interactions, then it appears that the construction of (supply) teacher identity (and subsequent notions of professionalism) is neither static nor to be taken for granted (Walshaw and Savell, 2001) but is formed within particular discourses. Following the advice to listen with 'soft ears' (Mitchell, 2009:78), I was able to 'hear' the underlying stories offered by the individual and to be alert to the fact that further gently probing may be needed to unearth a fuller picture as this diary entry shows:

> like Raf, Ursula once comfortable, expanded the conversation naturally, bringing up points that I had intended to cover by questioning. This method worked well, indicating to myself areas for further probing. Ursula apologised for digressing but it appeared to be quite an offloading…bringing up areas that I had not been aware of. (Diary, 30 August 2012)

As a consequence, when analysing the data, I was able to identify three themes: 1) 'Invisibility and Exclusion', 2) 'Pride and Self-Preservation', and finally 3) 'Observation and Expectation' as follows:

1. The first theme 'Invisibility and Exclusion' stems from the encounters, or lack of them, between the supply teacher and other educators experienced during the transitory nature of temporary assignments. It discusses notions of exclusion or alienation which emerged from interview data whereby participants (supply and senior management) gave perceptions and expectations of the supply teacher and his/her role in relation to a particular school, its ethos and its practices. This section also acknowledges the transitory nature of supply teaching.
2. The second theme 'Pride and Self-Preservation' acknowledges how the self-imposed standards concerning the subject knowledge and

classroom management of the supply teachers within the research enabled perceptions of professionalism to be formed.

3 Finally, the theme of 'Observation and Expectation' is discussed. Here data reveals how mechanisms of surveillance within the school environment are used to monitor supply teachers as they go about their daily tasks in what is often a new and unfamiliar environment for them.

Theme One – Invisibility and Exclusion

The career of a supply teacher is a very individual journey, with the possibility of working in various schools within a working week. In some cases, the supply teacher may find that lesson plans and equipment are not always apparent, as I have already demonstrated in the initial extract from Martin. Whilst the often-unpredictable employment pattern of supply teaching may not allow for professional relationships to be developed, interaction between professionals as a mechanism for gaining knowledge within schools is often necessary. But how communication is experienced from the perspective of the supply teacher appears to affect notions of reality:

> You get the odd person who, the kind of soul who's worked as a supply teacher or erm asks if you're ok, you know…but generally I was like the invisible man. (Raf, supply teacher)

> As a day-to day supply I don't think you're treated with a lot of respect by the other teachers. You get a lot of…erm…a tendency to shove you off because they don't *have* to talk to you. You're not going to be there the next day. (Lucy, supply teacher)

> Sometimes permanent staff make issues worse for supply teachers, in that no one tells you a mini-scheme of work so you have to figure it out, or if the work's on the computer. (William, supply teacher)

All three extracts reflect a notion of invisibility and indifference towards the supply teacher by the permanent staff, highlighting the discursive constraints which may impede the undertaking of the assignment as the supply teacher enters what I would describe as the 'hallowed ground' of the individual school. Such constraints indicate that (supply) teachers cannot stand outside the power/knowledge nexus where discursive practices put boundaries around whom it is possible to be, and

where set rules (specific to period and culture) allow certain subjects to speak and certain statements to be made.

Furthermore, Martin's story also reveals that:

> If it happens to be that teacher's day for playground duty I do it, though I do have my doubts. (Martin, supply teacher)

Here, Martin intimates that the timetable has been changed so that it falls upon the supply teacher to undertake playground duties. This also implies that the other teachers 'are in' on this exercising of power and control, hidden within networks of relationships and existing in conversations and discourses between workers (Hobbs, 2008). Although Martin accepts the task, he is aware that he does not possess the knowledge to challenge this dominant power and thus offers compliance in his acceptance of playground duty. This can be contrasted with the way in which he is able to reconstitute his identity within other discursive practices as seen within the domain of the classroom.

Following Foucault, Hall (1997) suggests that 'representation' occurs via a process through which meanings and values are reified by those within a shared culture (management and permanent staff) and are propagated through language and knowledge. Hence 'cultural representations get embodied in institutions and inform policies and practices' (Salazar, 2008:172), allowing asymmetrical power relationships to become established.

Consequently, the cultural representation of the supply teacher becomes enmeshed within circulatory discursive practice through the meanings formed from the way in which they are represented. Yet from the extracts, I would argue that in each case the supply teacher may be able to alter the balance perhaps by challenging the situation by initiating contact. However, this is very dependent on the individual and may not be a realistic concept in some situations. Nonetheless, I believe that it must be considered whether the supply teacher may be complicit to a certain degree in enabling such representations (in some instances) to persist.

However, the data has highlighted how inequality of power may be further manifested through physical distancing thus enhancing any non-tangible boundaries already in place:

> I wasn't welcome in the staff room…They provide a separate room for visitors and supply. I feel quite insulted. (Martin, supply teacher)

Immediately conferred with the status of 'other' and joining the ranks of the those outside of the 'knowledge', Martin's encounter at his particular school clearly sets him apart from permanent teachers, thus his identity as a professional is compromised again. This enforced exclusion demonstrates a clear perception of the inferior role in which the discursive practice places him as a supply teacher. Such separation, presumably avoids any imaginary contamination from the inferior and presumably less qualified and less experienced imposter.

Here I draw attention to how the school was able to use power to ensure that supply teachers were distanced, both physically and psychologically from the wider school, demonstrating how:

> Power exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action, even though, of course, it is inscribed in a field of sparse available possibilities underpinned by permanent structures. (Foucault, 2000b:340)

But are we bound by the strictures of the identity imposed upon us by others (Hall, 1997)? As Infinito (2003:70) argues when speaking of the ethical self, 'having our identity named for us is equally as restrictive of our freedom as bars and chains'. First and foremost in the case of the supply teacher, does s/he see him/herself as a temporary worker or as a qualified professional? It appears that being caught up in the discourses that precede us (Graham and Slee, 2008) makes identity and notions of professionalism a complex matter for many supply teachers. Easily identifiable by our different-coloured lanyards and badges and, if lucky, the sheaf of paper purporting to be lesson plans thrust into our hands, the supply teacher has to negotiate his/her way around the building and daily structure of the individual school, each one having its own particular ethos and identity. The following extracts offer a flavour of the various realities encountered by two supply teacher participants:

> I tried not to do daily supply but I did do some daily supply and I found that there's a huge difference, er, between the way you were perceived when you arrived in the school…some schools had a designated person to welcome you at the door and guide you to where the facilities were…sometimes the work was already there…sometimes the timetables already printed off…erm shown where the tea and coffee was…made to feel at home, and at some schools it was pretty much the opposite of that. (Joe, supply teacher)

> …it depends on the ethos of the school really doesn't it? Sometimes warmly and friendly and let's say…professionally. I don't like that word – professional. Sometimes...warm…the other times...ignored. I can't give you a one-line answer to that (longer pause). There's a big variety. (George, supply teacher)

As I listened to the recordings I was aware that, as stories were recollected, some participants, seemingly 'relived' situations in their thoughts, causing them to hesitate before continuing the conversation:

> No…but no I had…and I don't think the exercise of this interview is to discuss why I am a successful teacher. (Joe, supply teacher)

The interview with Joe presumably brought back some memories that he was not willing to share at that point in the interview. However, as the interview progressed, semi-structured questions meant that the issues could be addressed in a more roundabout way. This can be contrasted with the interview with George who, once comfortable, easily slipped from one anecdote to the next as he relived and reflected on past experiences, leading the way in with a 'here you go' or 'here's a story'. It is also during transcription however, that any underlying silences or coughs which speak volumes can be detected.

The silences appeared to add to the context of the recollections and I wondered how I could convey such hesitations and pauses in my analysis of the data. Indeed, should silences be considered as problematic, a failure in my ability as an interviewer/researcher or do they, as MacLure et al., (2010:498) posit, offer 'traces of voices' that 'exceed the limit of the spoken word'? For example, when George hesitates to use the word 'professional' as he recollects his experiences, he struggles to find adequate vocabulary before settling on the binary of friendly versus ignored. I 'read' this as trying to incorporate a more 'human' dimension to

encounters, perhaps associating 'professional' with a skill-set aligned with the practice of teaching. However, both Joe and George appear to be quite pensive as they relive their respective experiences. Of course, there may be various explanations for this; perhaps not wanting to remember negative incidents or perhaps my own situational identity in the research discourse (researcher or colleague?) brings with it its own issues around disclosure. Furthermore, it can be considered that pace and the tone of response also offer insight into specific phenomena:

> No it wasn't. Nothing was mentioned. Nobody came to me after school but I just…for me it ceased to be an issue…the girl was OK. I just…erm… one issue that I thought about after the interaction was that really, on my class register I should have that information. You know you normally expect that sort of SEN information…if a student is dyslexic; if a student has…I don't know…that's an issue that's come out of this. (Raf, supply teacher – March, 2013).

As Raf spoke slowly and rationally as he recollected the event concerning a choking student, it appeared to me that hurt, disappointment and betrayal underlined the silence. His knowledge as a first-aider was compromised by his subjective discursive positioning as a supply teacher, whereby power/knowledge tilted in favour of the school. It was clear that to recount this incident brought with it a sense of injustice that Raf found difficult to put into words. Thus spoken language was again substituted for silence.

Conveying the above snippets to the reader brings tensions as a researcher as I try to capture the interviews in text, being a producer, rather than a finder, of knowledge about the world (Lee, 1992). Similarly MacLure (2003) believes that there is always a gap, a difference in the interview and the subsequent writing up. On this point, therefore, I can only offer speculation on such gaps and hesitations and my own interpretation of the interview.

Reminded of the ethos claimed to be engendered at Georgina's school, the data illustrates that supply teachers in the study acknowledge and concur that the type of reception they get is very much dependent on the ethos and policy practised at the individual school. Notions of inclusivity demonstrated by gestures to minimise

feelings of isolation (being greeted at the door, information regarding amenities etc.) thus empower Joe with knowledge and positive perceptions of the management of the school in general. Conversely when this information is missing Joe, in particular, feels insecure and reluctant to return to the school. However, this must not be viewed as defeatist for:

> …as power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualised. (Foucault, 1991:193)

It appears that Joe, therefore, in the discourse around employment opportunity is able to use his knowledge and subsequent power to make a rational decision by offering resistance and refusal to return to the school, thus preserving notions of status and self-esteem as an educator. This would appear to raise questions around the role of docility and the dynamic relationship between power and knowledge.

Working with Teaching Assistants

The introduction of the 'rarely cover' rule for permanent staff in 2009, brought changes to how the cover for absent permanent staff was undertaken. Instead of supply teachers being the first port of call, schools could draw on their own pool of new entrants to the workforce in the form of cover supervisors. Similarly, teaching assistants were now given increased responsibility for the task of cover. Analysis of the data revealed how such developments were interpreted by the participants of the research. For instance, the following was drawn from the experiences of two permanent teachers:

> I do think that sometimes if a teaching assistant comes in though, they might know the policies better, might know the kids a lot better. It might be easier for them because the work that they would be doing wouldn't be that challenging. (Jonathan, permanent teacher)

Although Cathy argues that:

> Whereas [with] the internal TA the strongpoint is going to be their behaviour management, the strongpoint for the supply teacher will be their subject knowledge. (Cathy, permanent teacher)

As I read the data, these two snippets revealed how an insight into the school's management policies was an important factor for both Jonathan and Cathy should

they require cover for their own lessons. The power/knowledge dynamic for the supply teacher in the classroom is brought to notice. Jonathan implies that the subject matter he would leave for cover purposes would ensure that on his return the students may not have moved greatly along the learning curve. Cathy on the other hand, intimates that should cover be undertaken by a supply teacher then an expectation of subject knowledge and input to learning is expected. These differing expectations may give rise to the risk of conflict in the relationship between the supply teacher and TA, who are caught up in discourses around the requirements of cover arrangements but expected to work together on occasion. Thus tensions arise when knowledge changes the power dynamics within the classroom:

> I've had it where you get the teaching assistant who tries to take over...but they're not qualified to do that job. That's the long and short of it. (Raf, supply teacher)

As power is incorporated into the discursive practices it works alongside knowledge and produces a 'truth'. But such 'constructions of truth' can lead to friction between the parties, each vying for their own space within the classroom. Indeed, the belief that the supply teacher's subject knowledge is there to be utilised becomes, as in Raf's case, a contentious issue as he attempts to 'reclaim' the classroom.

Yet, this not always be the case, as can be illustrated as I again return to Martin's experience. Here the implication that the TA was excluded from vital information regarding teaching materials and any interaction with the permanent teacher, casts an interesting shadow over the relationship between the permanent teacher and the TA. It appears that as discursive practice and the mechanisms of power flowed through the institution it produced a version of knowledge and truth, positioning the TA as an 'outsider' in many classroom actions. Despite this and perhaps due to awareness of their positioning in the immediate situation Martin recollects that 'between myself and the TA we sort of collectively managed'.

There is, therefore, a suggestion in the extract that the current discourse arose as a consequence of the urgent need to find the relevant teaching materials. A better knowledge of the possible whereabouts of such items, positions the TA (perhaps

also sensing Martin's struggle) as an insider, with Martin as a non-permanent member of staff on the outside. This appears to support Foucault's argument that 'power is exercised from innumerable points' (Foucault, 1990:94) and is not attached to, or possessed by anyone or anything which thus contests Althusser's argument that power may *only* be linear and hierarchical.

The extract proffers that through his knowledge of policy and expectations, Martin is simultaneously positioned as an insider as he sets the children on an alternative task. As Foucault suggests '…there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives' (Foucault, 1990: 95) hence relations of power enabled the opening of a dynamic space for the transferring and reconstituting of power between the supply teacher and the TA. This enables the construction of further knowledge as the two individuals work to identify the necessary materials for the numeracy lesson to progress. Furthermore, if we take the action of engaging the children on a reading task, a daily activity that all parties are familiar with, then Martin's identity as teacher in charge of the classroom is constituted and not contested. At the same time Martin works to find a gap in which to construct his identity within the discursive practice and discourse circulating around the missing lesson plan which (due to its absence) he sees as de-skilling him rather than reconstituting his identity as a professional. Hence, it would appear that identities can often be the site of struggle or conflict depending on positioning within the discursive practice and the reconstitution of the individual as power shifts between those engaged in social interaction within the practice. This allows discursive boundaries to be redrawn, 'around what it is that makes possible particular structures of intelligibility or unintelligibility' (Britzman, 2000, cited in MacLure, 2003). Moving away from the supply teacher/teaching assistant discourse to an insight into the interactions between the supply teacher and the students offers a further glimpse of perspectives of the supply teacher as a professional educator.

The Supply Teacher and the Students

It can be seen how the school setting hence reveals that a variety of discourses proliferate around the supply teacher. The data also reveal how discourse between

the students and supply teacher offers understanding of how power and knowledge may intertwine. I again refer to Hall's (1997) concept of cultural identity and representation to examine the students' perception of supply teachers and how knowledge is produced and circulated. In the following extract an imbalance of power is seen as students contest the professional status of the supply teacher:

> I've had children say to me, 'you're not a real teacher' because they won't give you a log-in to get on the SIMS[19] for example to register a class. So you turn up with a paper register and straight away the children's perception of you is that you're just another...adult coming into the room and that you're not...that you're not…deserving of an equal amount of respect as a permanent teacher. Even though I've probably got more experience and held more positions of responsibility than most of the teachers at the schools I've been in, being of the age that I am now, you know. But of course, they don't know that. (Joe, supply teacher)

The issue of computer access also resonates strongly with me as it formed the basis for an investigation into supply teacher identity as part of whole school ethos, earlier in my course of study (see Appendices H and I). However, Joe's experience also begs the question of how and why the students are able to construct the identity of the supply teacher as the 'other'. It is possible of course, that the familiarity of permanent staff with their own laptops and log-ins to carry out all things computerised including the register, has enabled a binary representation of teachers through some sort of social conditioning. This allows the students to distinguish the 'haves' from the 'have-nots', thus leading to a perception of 'real' and 'pretend'. This knowledge may reinforce the notion of inferiority around the supply teacher and his subject positioning within that particular discourse.

Yet interpreting the data and keeping in mind the tone and context of the rest of the interview, I believe that Joe's final phrase in the extract 'But of course, they don't know that', is best followed by the missing, unspoken words *'but I do'*. Hence it is my interpretation that it is these missing words that reinforce rather than diminish Joe's self-perception of professional identity in order to combat any notions of inferiority. The binary of knowing and not knowing, along with his strong

[19] School Information Management System – negating the need for sensitive information on pupils etc. to be kept in paper form. A password is required to access the system which includes other data including the register.

awareness of his own qualifications and experience contribute to the power/knowledge dynamic. Thus it would appear that Joe as supply teacher tries to find a means to resist subjectification within the discursive power relationship by self-referral to his experience and qualifications. The ability to use internal mechanisms, rather than having to confirm his credentials to the students enabled Joe to construct and maintain a notion of professionalism.

A similar strategy of internalising frustration was also echoed by William who described the perceived inferiority between him and the other staff, in the eyes of the student, as being due to him being seen as '*only'* a supply teacher. *'*There's a perceived inferiority from both pupils and staff. I'm "only a supply teacher"' (William, supply). William implies that the word '*only*' becomes synonymous with *'simply'* and the ensuing connotations of lack of 'extras'. 'Only', in the context of the discourse thus allows the supply teacher to be negatively framed as an educator, excluded from the micro-environment of classroom teaching and its required knowledge. Although he may appear resigned to the perception of inferiority, William's perception of professionalism is underpinned by his self-awareness of what he knows about himself as a qualified and experienced teacher.

Despite being able draw solace from the knowledge of his background , it is unsurprising that Joe interprets his lack of recognition as a 'real' teacher as undermining his qualification as an educator and a sign of inadequacy, as well as restricting his ability to gain up-to-date knowledge of the school, its resources, and rewards or sanctions for students. Moreover, the students imply that the inability to access such information diminishes Joe as an educator and sets him outside of that particular school community, thus lowering status and limiting respect. 'Discourse is that which constrains or *enables*, writing, speaking and thinking' (Ball, 2013a:19), hence within the discourse of registration the students appear to have more knowledge about school policies than Joe as a supply teacher. But despite the 'regimes of truth' proffered by discourse, Foucault argues that at the same time such discourse is never pure since it contains discursive elements offering opportunity for challenge. Yet I would suggest that this is difficult to portray on a tangible level as Joe is unable to do anything about computer access for

registration, as he is unable to log in since the school has not issued authorisation. However, 'power can retreat here, re-organize its forces, invest itself elsewhere... and so the battle continues' (Foucault, 1980a:56). If I use this to analyse how Joe attempts to reposition himself in the discourse, I would argue that it would appear that any frustrations are internalised as Joe challenges and resists the situation silently. The knowledge that his past experiences and positions of responsibility, which exceed those of 'most of the teachers at the schools I've been in', thus allows him to reconstitute his identity as an educator and help to constitute notions of professionalism. This seemingly contributes to negotiating the imbalance of power within the circulating discourse and enables Joe to offer his version of 'reality'.

It is also worth considering at this point, the actual developing identities of the students and their own subjectivity within discourses (Jones and Brown, 2001), as I would argue that this results in a 'gap' in 'knowledge' between primary- and secondary-school children about 'others'. I believe that the former may not be privy to many conversations about the supply teacher, besides that discussed on a peer-to-peer basis. In addition, Hall's (1997) assertion – that language (inclusive or exclusive) and knowledge production within discursive practice produce a cultural identity which forms images of others – contributes to the framing of the supply teacher (in this case) as a subject, within the characteristics of each discourse.

I would suggest that for primary-aged children this possibly reinforces a positive cultural identity (in the main) and limits any negative representation of the supply teacher. For example, if I return the extract at the start of the chapter regarding Martin (see Martin: Difficult Positions):

> So I've got the children reading while I find the materials that I'm going to need to do that particular lesson. (Martin, supply teacher)

I would posit that these primary-age children and their limited understanding of the teaching workforce view Martin as a teacher, regardless of temporary or permanent assignment and hence do not question his authority or request to undertake a specific task.

This is contrary to the more 'savvy' secondary-school student, whose involvement in a greater number of discursive practices may mean that contribution to the production of cultural identity and representation of the supply teacher may be greater. Since knowledge acts as an enabler of power, it possibly allows the student to benefit from the situation, especially if there is an opportunity to pass blame for lack of work output etc. Then far from being the 'kingdom' of the (supply) teacher, the classroom is, in fact, often the battleground of conflicting power, with produced subjects and their accompanying knowledge vying for space and recognition.

Cultural Representation and Self-Image

Whilst I believe that the primary/secondary school differential in pupil perception of the supply teacher to be an important factor and worthy of further exploration, it does not merit further investigation within the boundaries of this research. Nonetheless, the possibility that any inferences arising from cultural representation may be absorbed and feed into self-image may explain the difference in the experiences of Martin (primary) and Joe (secondary) in the classroom environment. The following extract from the interview with George (secondary) further illustrates how discursive practice within the school is central to how the supply teacher is able to negotiate discourses within the classroom:

> There should be a lesson, work set…that's another one…work set. Where do I go to where it's brilliant? (muses) TC Agency send me to St Boniface's (secondary) in Southtown. I've got a log-on; you go in…it's very organised. So I've got a guest user for the day. I go into the classroom, I've got a log-on for SIMS, I do the register…The PowerPoint comes up and you teach and go through the stages that are left. I've not been to a school yet where the work that's left is to such a good standard. It's always there and it's made easier for me as a teacher to deliver a good lesson because their resources, again it's only in the form of a PowerPoint or detailed instructions and I do it. And again that's the schools responsibility to ensure that in a secondary, because if it's day-to-day their kids are receiving a lesson. (George, supply teacher)

Immediately, the students are aware that George has access to their records (although they are probably unaware of any limitations of guest access) and George, unlike Joe, does not have to negotiate obstacles and barriers to ensure a

timely start to the lesson. Discursive practice has situated the supply teacher here as a subject able to access certain areas of knowledge and thus power necessary to offer lesson continuity in a competent manner, influencing the various discourses circulating within the classroom. However, the power/knowledge nexus firmly places the school in the dominant position, controlling exactly what access George has to resources etc., whilst at the same time, enables George to be in a superior position of power in the classroom since by the school allowing him to access the system:

> a political anatomy, which was also a 'mechanics of power', was being born; it defined how one may have a hold over others' bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines. (Foucault, 1991:138)

As Deacon (2006:181) drawing on Foucault's work on training and reform suggests, 'micro-disciplinarization' within schools means that the transfer of knowledge is no longer a simple matter but becomes entangled within authoritative processes seeking to instil discipline into the 'moral fibres of its inmates' (this is further discussed under the heading 'Observation and Expectation' on page 72). Hence the supply teacher's positioning is situated accordingly. But how much autonomy does George have as a professional educator within the classroom? Clearly, the school is well organised when cover teachers are needed, and George has to conform to the role expected of him. However, it is not possible for him to step outside the role of supply teacher or guest (his subject positioning within discursive practice), despite the illusion that he is operating as a 'teacher', so there appears to be is very little autonomy. Moreover, he opines that it's the school's 'responsibility' to ensure that the students are receiving a lesson, rather than assume the responsibility for it himself, thus positioning himself as a conduit rather than a producer of information. Nonetheless, George *'delivers a good lesson'*, with the minimum of resistance from the students, which feeds into his notion of identity as a professional.

Theme Two – Pride and Self-Preservation

As I read and listened to transcripts, it appeared that for the supply teacher there seemed to be a perception of swimming against the tide, in terms of accessibility to resources, whilst still being held accountable for standards of learning. So why does the supply teacher keep returning to the classroom? As I contemplated this question a theme of pride as a professional appeared to be threaded through the narratives:

> I'm a qualified teacher, I have a degree in education, you know, I've got an honours degree in education, I've got 20 years of teaching experience, I've got management experience in education, I do know what I'm doing! (Martin, supply teacher)
>
> I'm very, very enthusiastic about engaging kids and finding ways to engage them...I've got my own memory stick with my own resources that I've collected over the years which I've found are really good at the beginning of lessons to engage kids whilst the work arrives. (Joe, supply teacher)
>
> I go in and because I have such high expectations of the kids in terms of behaviour of the kids in the lesson so that they can learn because I want the best for them. (Raf, supply teacher)
>
> I like positive things, I don't like negative things. I don't like to be shouting at children. I like to reward for things that have been done well. So I will give them a raffle ticket for the opportunity to win one of my two bars of chocolate. (Martin, supply teacher)

Such notions of professionalism are realised by an emphasis on creating an environment where learning can be achieved which contributes to the pride in undertaking a cover lesson. Raf emphasises his *'high expectations'* of behaviour and that he wants *'the best'* for the students. All three supply teachers place emphasis, spoken or otherwise, on maintaining positivity during the lesson through deploying various strategies. Encouraging the primary-school children to win a chocolate bar or ensuring that a variety of resources are taken into school allude to the supply teacher having a means of control.

Rather than portray subject situating of supply teachers as docile bodies compliant with institutional norms and regulations of Foucauldian theory (*Discipline and Punish*, 1991), the supply teachers' accounts appear to indicate how power can be

reclaimed and used productively. Knowledge in the form of expertise (e.g. Martin's management experience) or subject knowledge (Raf is a linguist) enables the supply teacher to demonstrate how this may be done.

Thus knowledge is manifested via mechanisms which are deployed to construct truths around professionalism:

> I was used to marking exams…and yes you do feel more of a real teacher…feel more part of the group really. (Raf, supply teacher).
>
> I mark and use the stamp…usually reserved for permanent teachers. (Martin, supply teacher)
>
> I stayed at one school on a lower rate of pay because it was absolutely idyllic. And I got a great reference off them. So, there was something in it for me there, as well. (Joe, supply teacher)

From the above snatches it appears that far from being powerless, the supply teacher is able to find gaps to utilise knowledge in order to exercise (often subtle) power. The examples also illustrate that the relationship between knowledge and power is a complex one. Here we can see that despite attempted subject positioning as 'inferior' within a number of circulating practices, the supply teacher, is able to construct 'truths' of professionalism through various avenues. Exercise of power in this way 'produces domains of objects and rituals of truth' (Foucault 1991:194) rather than power being used to exclude or repress. The emphasis on marking students' work being indicative of being a 'real' teacher, implies a resistance to acceptance of inferior work and of upholding standards, whilst the 'feel good factor' of having both the expertise and extra resources add to the assimilation of power and authority within the classroom. Furthermore, Joe, rather than being repressed by the low pay, accepted the situation as a trade-off in lieu of being able to use his classroom expertise and experience. Thus, appropriating power to ensure references would enable him to pursue his further goals.

It may be argued that pride in one's work is hard to achieve since it requires 'synergy between what is external to an individual and their own internal mechanisms' (Jones and Osgood 2007:208). From the data it is suggested that for the supply teacher this does not necessarily mean the deployment of one's subject

knowledge, but often a more immediate sense of achieving the requirements set out in the cover assignment. Hence by employing a diverse range of tactics the power/knowledge relationship may be tipped in favour of the supply teacher.

Self-Preservation and Professionalism

In exploring the data it appears that supply teachers are able to develop mechanisms of self-expectation and set personal standards for constituting notions of professionalism that feed into the quality of teaching reflective of status as a qualified and experienced educator.

> It is a big job and sometimes I think that I survive because…past experience of being a permanent teacher and bringing in lots and lots of past experience. (George, supply teacher)

Yet, an awareness of the fragility of the professional status and the acknowledgement of those supply teachers who did not contribute to enhancing the status was revealed in the research:

> I've seen some terrible supply teachers and I've seen some great supply teachers. You know…I've met some lovely people. No, I just think that the poor ones will struggle for work. Because they might get work initially but they just create more problems. (Joe, supply teacher)

> That would arise from people in general behaving as though they are lower status people by not taking an interest in the kids, by turning up and collecting their money and not engaging the kids. (George, supply teacher)

Distancing themselves from these 'other' workers further indicates an awareness of the marginalisation of supply teaching and the widely held perception of the sector perpetuated by the media. Notions of professionalism are tarnished by the actions of those who just *'turn up and collect their money'* or who do not display a positive attitude towards either the institution or learning.

> I'm looking for a supply teacher who does try to implement the policies that we have set in place, particularly when we have shared that with them. I look for a supply teacher that marks the children's work and again if they try and work in line with the school's policy. Particularly if we've shown them that and they're not just quick to get out of the door at quarter past three, and they leave the classroom as they found it in order for the teacher when they arrive the next day. And on the whole, you know most supply teachers

> actually do that and when they have done, we've always said 'look we would like to have this person again'. (Georgina, head teacher)

As Joe argues, such individuals create more problems for those whose professional identity is partly dependent on inclusion and acceptance by other groups of educators. George describes them as behaving as if of a *'lower status'*, implying such teachers have an indifference to the general standards of teaching that most supply teachers aim to uphold. Instead it would suggest that maybe such individuals are trapped within their own discourse of subjugation. But is this a manifestation of Foucault's argument of the docile body, whereby they feel so powerless that they are stripped of agency and as a result perform to the minimum expectation? Conversely, it may be considered that such individuals are exhibiting a resistance to the production of the 'docile body' by consciously withholding, for example, subject knowledge or classroom management skills, thus attempting to regain agency within the discursive role associated with a particular school or phenomena. Whatever the explanation, it appears that to the participants of the research, there is an onus on the individual to set and self-regulate high professional standards to combat any negative perceptions of the supply teacher held by others. This is especially true given that surveillance is embodied in twenty-first century society with the expectation that the workplace will employ differing mechanisms to ensure the smooth running of its business. The school environment is no exception.

Theme Three – Observation and Expectation

This section discusses the theme of the supply teacher being watched or observed through subtle or non-subtle means as daily assignments are undertaken. Acknowledging the existence of surveillance within the school environment, I refer to Foucault's argument concerning docility and power. Here Foucault famously draws on Bentham's Panopticon and the role of the prisoner as a metaphor to illustrate how docility may be produced through the exercising of power through surveillance. The deployment of surveillance in schools where 'disciplinary power is exercised through its invisibility' (Foucault 1991:187) often makes it more subtle and harder to resist (Fillingham 1993). Accordingly, it is argued that institutional panopticism is indeed powerful in normalising the actions of all surveyed, in the

knowledge that as we watch pupils, then so too are others watching us (Maynard 2007). Exploration of the data therefore revealed if (and how much) autonomy and agency the supply teacher could exercise:

> The Head of Department would pop his head through the door to check everything was OK…the Head of Spanish would liaise with me about the work. (Raf, supply teacher)

> I've even had a Head coming in watching me on supply, watching me on a numeracy lesson without telling me, and then telling me afterwards how I could have improved it, and what I should have done when I was marking with the kids! (Ursula, supply teacher)

However, a difference in technique regarding the attempted training of the docile body can be seen in the two 'management walks' – the name given to this type of surveillance. Raf is '*invited'* to discuss the work with the Head of Department (HOD), who just 'popped his head around the door', to '*liaise'* with him about the lesson. This suggests a *'respectful'* view of the supply teacher as a person who also holds knowledge regarding teaching and learning. Raf then appears willing to compromise aspects of individuality, by internalisation of discipline in order to fit the 'norm' expected of him (Foucault, 1991). This for Raf is a positive and seemingly constructive experience. Ursula's recollection, however, offers a glimpse of the more negative aspects of asymmetry of the power relationship during an unannounced lesson observation. There appears to be little room for negotiation as she is '*told*' how to improve her teaching and marking. As Oliver (2010:42) advises 'power is with those who conduct the observation on the individual'. Compromise in this instance appears to be forced upon Ursula, as she appears powerless to offer resistance to the instruction being imposed upon her. But, according to Foucault (1990:95) there is always a 'counter-discourse' occurring, and indeed a space in which Ursula could offer resistance. However, as Mills (2003) suggests, the individual also has the easier option of acquiescing. This appears to be Ursula's chosen strategy, in this instance. The end result in both extracts, however, is that the supply teachers adopt (willingly or otherwise) the Foucauldian notion of a self-policing discipline, producing a body that conforms in the knowledge that it is subject to constant surveillance.

The Subtlety of Surveillance

Whilst the experiences of Raf and Ursula demonstrate the more tangible aspects of surveillance, its mechanisms often take on a more subtle form.

Hence, if I return to Martin's experience of being barred from the main staffroom, it is possible that he is aware of panoptic visibility via cameras in the corridors and staffroom and his own subsequent accountability. Thus Martin internalises any frictions ('I feel quite insulted'), and appears to adopt the docile and subjected body produced through 'Discipline' as he 'accepts' the 'normal' behaviour required of him, accepting that his free time will not be spent in the 'official' staff room.

> What was then being formed was a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behaviour. (Foucault, 1991:138)

The data thus reveals how surveillance enables power to be spread throughout, operating silently and subtly, through a variety of mechanisms. To further illustrate this I will return to George and his experience of what he describes as a 'good' school (page 67). From this snippet I draw attention to how power relations exercised through the panoptic gaze ensure that George is subject to constant monitoring. In this case, from logging on in the morning through to the end of the day, George's activities and access to specific programmes and websites are logged on the server. This unseen surveillance provides the school with clear information on his actions and his electronic accountability within the classroom. Aware that he is being monitored, a self-policing method of discipline may be enacted as the 'fear' of being observed is felt. Similarly, George is able to monitor from his computer the activities of each student at their stations, offering an insight into the strands of power as they circulate through subtle surveillance mechanisms. Yet surveillance techniques may also adopt a more 'traditional' form:

> I have to fill out a form at the end of each lesson. Stating whether the resources were there, how it went etc. I have to give that to the admin person dealing with cover or leave it on the desk…depending. (Anna, supply teacher)

Anna's experience in her regular secondary school highlights how the innocuous 'form', acts as a method of surveillance on both herself and the secondary school department in which she covered lessons. Here we can also see the hidden regulatory power, which Foucault describes, in the form of management practice that enables both the work left by the permanent teacher and its delivery by the supply teacher to be scrutinised. This is revealed in Georgina's interview:

> I'm looking for a supply teacher who does try to implement the policies that we have set in place, particularly when we have shared that with them. (Georgina, Head Teacher)

From the extracts it can be argued that panopticism is often related to the achievement of goals and targets. Exam results, positioning in league tables and grading by OFSTED, as discussed in Chapter 2, is dependent on performativity and accountability (see Ball, 2013b). Optimisation of performance becomes 'highly significant' (Graham and Slee, 2008:3). Surveillance is, therefore, not just via the traditional top-down approach of Althusser, but spread through mechanisms and techniques throughout the organisation. In effect, the old adage that, 'walls have ears', adds to the knowledge that one's actions and behaviours are always being monitored. Consequently, it is by acknowledging Foucault's (1991:29) suggestion to look at the 'micro-physics of power' rather than the macro-view to analyse the complexities of power manifestation that assists me to unpack the data.

If I return to the example of school practices and the extract from the interview with Georgina (head teacher) at the start of the chapter, I would argue that the school book, in which the supply teacher records his/her experience is also a powerful surveillance tool for management to probe the 'suitability' of the individual for the school's purpose. Similarly, the introduction to the school by members of the senior leadership team allows further opportunity for the practice of covert surveillance and monitoring and as the above quote from Georgina implies sharing of policy further encourages adopting of the 'norm'.

Thus the panoptic gaze can be far-reaching. Discipline exercised through the 'gaze' as a mechanism of control, can be overt or covert in order to produce a normalising effect on the population. The management walkabout to check order and learning

is in stark contrast to the relinquishing of one's break-time to undertake (unpaid) playground duty, whilst the written form maintains a formal record of duties performed. As Foucault suggests the range of techniques employed by the school to maintain discipline are not just hierarchical, but implicit in a diffuse array of power.

The supply teachers in the research appear to be conforming to the norms expected of them by the institution but also appear to be aware, sometimes subconsciously, of the rewards and sanctions (of further work or not) related to adhering to these expectations. Hence versions of 'reality' at times appear couched in the unspoken compromise of the supply teacher, and resistance appears to be internalised by some. Whilst Foucault's concept of the production of docile bodies through panopticism in relation to my analysis allows me to unpack data, the aspect of surveillance and agency remains a complex and dynamic issue as illustrated in the following account:

> And basically the agent [Raf's contact at the recruitment company] had been informed by somebody at the school that I had been seen outside the classroom, hitting a student on the back! Which was perfectly truthful because that's what I had been doing, but the context was that I had thought that she'd swallowed something…I was essentially being reprimanded and the conversation that followed was that I was 'reminded' that as someone in the profession that I should not make any physical contact at all with a student. With which I disagreed. For sure, under normal circumstances of course you don't touch a student but there are obviously circumstances where one has to deviate from rules and regulations and procedure and I think that endeavouring to save a child's life could be one of those reasons…Well the agent said that I should have sought help from a trained first-aider. (Raf, supply teacher)

Raf's story illustrates the threefold mechanism of panopticism – supervision, control and correction that Foucault refers to as 'a fundamental and characteristic dimension of the power relations that exist in our society' (Foucault 2000a:70). As the person in charge in the classroom, Raf uses professional judgement and agency, in what he believes to be an emergency, and makes a decision to put the girl in the corridor (leaving the classroom door open). The notion of surveillance as a supervisory measure and a disciplinary power, means that as a supply teacher, Raf is seen to be operating outside of the norm, via the power mechanism in the form

of the permanent member of staff who covertly observes the incident (or at least the part on the corridor), but does not intervene.

In the absence of any special educational needs (SEN) notes, or indeed telephone in the classroom, and aware of the 'no touch' policy that all teaching staff must abide by, Raf uses his agency to act upon his knowledge of first aid to stop the girl from choking. But two different realities of '*hitting a student*' are formed, one in the context that she has swallowed something, the other in a more malicious context through the power of surveillance (presumably with concerns over Health and Safety or Child Protection discourses).

Through the various power mechanisms the incident is reported back to the recruitment company, only coming to Raf's awareness some days later via a phone call, illustrating how:

> The power in the hierarchized surveillance of the disciplines is not possessed as a thing, or transferred as a property; it functions like a piece of machinery (Foucault, 1991:192).

From this extract we can also see Raf's positioning within the discursive practice of supply teacher/recruitment company, whereby the power dynamics are such that his subject positioning is constructed as one that is practically powerless as '*he should have sought help*' from someone with more knowledge of first aid. Unable to monitor the supply teacher personally, the employment company is reliant on surveillance and feedback from the institution (a form of control) thus Raf is '*basically reprimanded*' like a naughty child for his sincere actions. In order to correct his behaviour, since he '*disagreed*' with the '*verdict*', he is also '*reminded*' that he '*is in the profession*' and under no circumstances should he make physical contact with a child. Being reminded that he is in the profession, is possibly also to remind Raf that he gets his professional work via that recruitment company and thus should comply to the norm lest he suffer sanctions as a form of correction.

In terms of normalisation through panopticism then Raf's actions can be interpreted as a refusal to comply with the norm, opting, instead, for professional judgement and hence agency. Whether his course of action was right or wrong, he

acted on his version of reality and contextual 'truth'. In such cases, one's actions, I would argue, are based on one's notion of professional identity and its complex mix that also includes ethics and social conscience. Thus any docility produced by the power of surveillance may be superseded by such notions. This appears to follow Mills' (2003) argument that agency does not have to be surrendered as such, but may depend on specific phenomena and discourses in operation at the time.

Hence, I would argue that docility in terms of power mechanisms cannot be reduced to simplistic explanation as it must be remembered that the institution or school is also enveloped in other circulatory discourses. This includes those at policy/governmental level (pay, health and safety, funding etc.), as well as those at micro-level (cover requirements, training etc.) all of which affect the supply teacher and the role of agency in resisting, adopting or acquiescing to the docile body of the 'norm'.

Summary

By adopting a Foucauldian lens to view the data I attempt to offer an exploration of how discursive practices incorporate a dynamic knowledge/power relationship when positioning the supply teacher as an educator within school. Circulatory discourses regarding performance and accountability imposed at a macro-level, impact the micro-environment, causing power networks to be dispersed throughout organisations in a matrix. Management policies mean that discipline is everywhere: 'it leaves no zone of shade and constantly supervises the very individuals who are entrusted with the task of supervising' (Foucault, 1991: 177). Market mechanisms and contemporary workforce reform brings with it the 'terrors of performativity' (Ball, 2003:216), as schools compete for excellence. Consequently, the transient nature of supply work can pose a disadvantage for those unfamiliar with the policies and ethos of schools that are new to them and may lead to further marginalisation. Hence, the data offers glimpses of interactions in the classroom where on many occasions, working without the 'tools of the trade' afforded to permanent staff (teaching or ancillary), the supply teacher has sometimes to rely on intuition to be able to read a situation quickly, to enable a

lesson to begin or, more commonly, to establish their 'right' to be in the classroom in lieu of the permanent teacher.

As themes and patterns emerge from the data, I have tried to offer explanation and/or contrast as I investigate notions of power/knowledge and discipline on the positioning of the supply teacher within discursive practice. From this I would suggest that the supply teacher draws on the professional, social and ethical concepts which are woven into the persona of each individual when constructing notions of professionalism. Hence in order to negotiate the discursive gap identified by Foucault, I would argue that the supply teacher does not adopt a homogenous response but uses pertinent knowledge to do so. Whilst Foucault posits that within discourse there is the opportunity for resistance (and thus agency) it appears that, for the supply teacher, agency is often exercised discreetly in lieu of acquiescing to the dominant power discourse. Indeed, the concept of agency appears to be one of the contradictory or paradoxical aspects of Foucauldian theory as argued by McNay (1992) and Mills (2003). Following Guilfoyle (2012), I would argue that Foucault does allow for the location of agency although this may indeed be traded for acquiescing to the dominant power discourse.

Moreover, I believe that the data suggests the ability of the supply teachers in the research to acknowledge the implications of panoptic surveillance, and thus be able to 'play the game' (e.g. playground duties) of the docile body, rather than true acceptance of 'norms'. This would indicate an ability to internalise any resistance, in the knowledge that other notions of professional identity in the form of acceptance etc. are forthcoming. Such trade-off is also noted in the example of accepting lower pay for a position that allowed both professional freedom and the offer of good references. Thus the knowledge/power relationship can in certain circumstances be directed in the supply teachers' favour. To this end, I would argue that the supply teachers in this research are aware of the precariousness of their subjective positioning and for the most part are able to negotiate the discursive gap in classroom situations accordingly, dependent on their ability to prioritise circumstance via individual manifestations of professionalism. How this argument

can be upheld in the wider context of other discursive practices, (e.g. within the employment agency/supply teacher discourse) is examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Making Sense of Discourse and Surveillance in a Macro Environment

> *In a sense, the power of normalisation imposes homogeneity; but it individualises by making it possible to measure gaps…* (Foucault, 1991:184)

A Glimpse Beyond the Classroom

The effects of contemporary market mechanisms and the intertwining of productivity, efficiency and freedom of choice are explored within this chapter as I move beyond the boundaries of the classroom. By investigating the models adopted by schools for the procurement of cover teachers I am able to further explore the relationship between power and knowledge and the discourses produced. In doing so I look at the discursive practices in operation within schools and recruitment agencies to try to understand how this impacts on perceptions of the supply teacher. Referring to Foucault's argument that discourse and 'truth' operate within a 'specific historical context', Hall (1997:46) suggests that subjects and practices may alter over time. For the supply teacher this brings new discourses to matters of deployment. Hence the chapter investigates the complexity of the changing nature of employment relationships facing supply teachers in contemporary times and attempts to offer understanding of how this may challenge notions of professionalism. At the same time I try to understand whether, as Foucault posits, there is a gap for individuality within the normalising process.

I begin the chapter with a consideration of the budgetary implications facing schools when contemplating cover arrangements. This is followed by an outline of the four dominant themes that arose through the analysis of data concerning the relationship and interactions of the supply teacher and the recruitment agency. Each theme is then explored in more depth before I offer a summary of my findings.

Cost Considerations and Cover Requirements

As previously discussed, the slow economy following the 2008 recession combined with public-sector cuts introduced by the coalition government formed in 2010, contributes to the backdrop to my research. 'Squeezed school finances and funding reforms' (Sutcliffe, 2012) meant challenging times were in store with regard to those in charge of the school budget. As a three-year freeze on budgets from April

2011 began to take hold (Sutcliffe, 2012) state schools began to make cuts wherever they were able. With this in mind, I highlight the advice given to schools by the Audit Commission (2011) in order to understand how budgetary costs play an important factor in decision-making:

> Schools have three main options for staff cover. They can require other available teachers to cover for colleagues, use qualified support staff to cover lessons within limits discussed…or employ supply teachers from outside the school to cover temporarily. In deciding between these options schools should ensure the best possible value for money; balancing the costs of cover with the quality and continuity of teaching and learning. In doing so, they need to consider the size and stream of the class and, at secondary level, whether a subject-match is needed' (Audit Commission, 2011:6).

From the above extract I hope to illustrate how governing bodies and school management regard the allocation of budgets and how this may feed into changing practices concerning cover arrangements. With regard to external cover arrangements, changing models of education have meant that schools have adopted business models reflecting those used in the wider economy, where market forces and competition regarding the supply of services influence the price the 'buyer' is willing to pay. Hence as the role of the local authority diminishes and budgetary matters become matters for the school, so too the role of the LA supply pool, the 'traditional' route into school for supply teachers in the 1980s (Trotter and Wragg, 1990), becomes obsolete or has its services tendered out to private agencies (Leaton Gray, 2006). As the chapter develops I therefore look at the intrinsic linking of power/knowledge through discursive practices and subsequent circulating discourses around the supply teacher as the 'political, economic and personal' (Ball, 2013b:29) are incorporated into the social interactions between individuals, institutions and groups.

A Consideration of Emergent Themes

As I analysed the data, four themes emerged: 1) 'Employability and the Recruitment Agency Dilemma', 2) 'Remuneration and Status', 3) 'Identity and the Blurring of Boundaries' and 4) 'Surveillance and the Recruitment Agency' as follows:

1. The first theme 'Employability and the Recruitment Agency Dilemma' discusses how employment routes into school have changed for supply teachers. The commoditisation of the supply teacher as privatisation of services expands appears to affect both subject-matching and the amount of work offered. Discursive practices between the recruitment agency and school are explored through participants' recollections.
2. The second theme 'Remuneration and Status' offers a glimpse of how a move away from the national pay spine has affected supply teachers. This theme looks at how the change has been interpreted by both recruitment agencies and schools since remuneration no longer has to be linked to years of service or experience. The effects of Agency Workers' Regulations (AWR) are also discussed along with the implications of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) provision for supply teachers.
3. Within Theme Three 'Identity and the Blurring of Boundaries' the role of government policy and its interpretation by recruitment agencies, as cost becomes the marketing tool, is discussed. Analysis of the data highlights the frustrations and concerns of supply teachers and schools alike as subject-matching and level of experience appears to become less of a concern than filling a post for some of the agencies. Identity in some cases can become an issue.
4. The final theme, Theme Four 'Surveillance and the Recruitment Agency' is concerned with mechanisms of power and the everyday role of monitoring, given that the agency is reliant on the school and thus 'second-hand' surveillance. Data analysis indicates how the dynamics of the power relationships impact on notions of professionalism given this environment.

As the themes are discussed so too is the discursive positioning of the supply teacher as analysis seeks to explore whether there is a discursive gap whereby the supply teacher is able to reconstitute identity and notions of professionalism thus tilting the power/knowledge nexus in his/her favour. By exploring Foucault's

concept of discipline and surveillance I am able to contemplate how further developments in power mechanisms may impact on professionalism.

Theme One – Employability and the Recruitment Agency Dilemma

As I explored the research sub-question concerning the potential marginalisation of the supply teacher role, supply participants drew attention to work opportunities and the role of the recruitment agencies:

> I'm registered with agencies only – around five, but work for only two or three. (William, supply teacher)
>
> Well I've actually joined a new agency. I haven't worked with them yet. They did promise me work every day but I'm not foolish enough to believe it, but I've been getting a fair amount with my main agency. (Raf, supply teacher)

The data reveals that registering with agencies is often a piecemeal task. The lack of a national database of recruitment agencies (see Chapter 1) means that individuals often search online companies (for example, supplybag.co.uk) that compile lists of agencies, or check whether teaching unions (ATL, NASUWT) have up-to-date information. Hence, there is a proliferation of prospective 'employers', ranging from the large national recruitment agencies with regional bases, to small one-off concerns, with either of whom the supply teacher has to register in order to obtain work. From the data, it would seem that the power/knowledge nexus is skewed in favour of the recruitment agencies, producing discourses around deployment and geographical area for example. Thus as market mechanisms emphasise competition the supply teacher becomes a commodity within discursive practice. Yet, it appears that by registering with more than one agency, both William and Raf are attempting to maximise their employment potential. Whilst it seems that William prioritises the agencies he is affiliated to, in terms of amount of work that he is offered, Raf on the other hand, is sceptical about of the amount of work promised by his new agency. This awareness thus enables each individual to use his individual knowledge in order to negotiate discursive positioning and remain flexible on assignment offers.

Returning to the extract from the Audit Commission (2011) it can be seen that schools are encouraged to seek external cover teachers when subject-matching is necessary. However:

> Most of my supply work is for English which is my second subject. Teaching agencies lie over what subject you teach! (William, supply teacher)
>
> I'm working December to June. But it's in performing arts, not music. (Lucy, supply teacher)

Here we catch a glimpse of the discursive practices between the agency and the school, and the discursive positioning of the supply teacher. Thus 'power must be analysed as something which circulates' (Foucault, 1980a:98). By presumably alluding to an ability to offer a 'subject fit' the agency negotiates a powerful position in the role of arranging absence cover to fit the school's requirements. However, when such a 'fit' is unavailable, cover is supplied at the expense of the supply teacher as indicated above. As the data illustrates, the supply teacher is offered work that may not be his/her subject specialism. Accepting the work illustrates the powerful positioning of the recruitment agency and the knowledge that the school needs cover and the supply teacher needs work. Discursive positioning thus places the supply teacher, I believe, in a position whereby it is harder to negotiate any discursive gap. I would argue that, although Foucault posits that there is always room for resistance, this appears to be 'traded' in the case of William or Lucy in favour of employment.

Also, by registering with recruitment agencies, the issue of freedom of choice of location, seemingly beneficial to the individual, is not always as clear cut as it appears:

> I've been offered a mix of half-days, TA work, and schools which are too far. The week you interviewed me I had no work at all. (Ursula, supply teacher)

Although work was offered, the half-days, lower status and distance meant that Ursula resisted such offers, resulting in no work being obtained. Here I draw attention to the way in which power darts between the two parties – the power of the agency regarding the availability of employment, and the power of the supply teacher to refuse such work. Whilst resistance indicated power/knowledge being in

Ursula's favour, the inability to gain temporary employment may also suggest the paradox of being rendered both 'powerful' yet 'powerless' at the same time. However, it is interesting to heed Foucault's warning against describing the effects of power 'in negative terms…In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth' (Foucault, 1991:194). Two different 'truths' and hence 'realities' are hence highlighted in the positioning of Ursula and the agency, dependent on the viewpoint.

The data illustrates how market mechanisms at both government and recruitment agency level trickle down to the everyday employment of the supply teacher in many guises, as both the individual and the agencies become caught up in competing circulatory discourses around, for example, experience and availability. Hence, the knowledge of the recruitment agencies regarding the cover requirements of the school contributes to the subject positioning of the supply teacher within discursive practices between themselves, the school and the supply teacher.

Theme Two – Remuneration and Status

As I continued to explore and analyse the data, I was drawn to the perceived link between remuneration and professional status and how this theme appeared pertinent to perceptions of professionalism. Originally paid in accordance with the nationally agreed pay levels[20] the supply teacher's remuneration at one time reflected length of service and experience.

> I know that at one time those supply desks that were run by local authorities paid the same rate as the national pay spine. (Martin, supply teacher)

From a historic perspective supply teacher pay was commensurate with that of a permanent teacher of equivalent experience. This indicated that the individual was acknowledged as an experienced professional qualified to teach and competently cover during absences. However, government plans to demolish the national pay structure escalated in 2013 with the then Secretary for Education's (Michael Gove)

[20] The nationally agreed pay level for teachers is reviewed annually and applies to all local authority maintained schools in England and Wales. However, this will be affected by government changes to pay structures introduced in September 2014.

proposal to relate teacher pay to performance (see page 46) much to the concern of many permanent and supply teachers. Despite strong objections from the teaching unions (e.g. NASUWT or NUT) and many educators concerned about the definition of a 'good' teacher, this proposal became a reality in September 2014. The introduction of performance-related pay (PRP), further negates the requirement for the agency to put a 'value' on the work and experience of the supply teacher, as the 'marks that once indicated status, privilege and affiliation (are) increasingly replaced' (Foucault, 1991:184) as power continues to try to homogenise this group of educators, causing frustration amongst the ranks of the supply teacher. Analysis of the data revealed how this move has led to discrepancies in remuneration of the supply teachers who took part in the research.

> …agreed to pay me £155 per day which is pretty close to, or was at that time…pretty close to the daily rate for a full-time teacher, on the top of the salary (Martin, supply teacher).
>
> Yes, when I joined this agency around 3 years ago, I was given a daily rate of £156 as a teacher, now I'm being offered anything between £100 and £140 per day depending on the school (Ursula, supply teacher).

If I return to education policies in place at the time of research it is noted that legislation under the coalition government already allowed the growing number of academies and free schools to set their own pay scales for permanent staff[21], causing further dissonance between the remuneration of permanent and supply teachers:

> As a Head Teacher and Governing Body you have to decide on how much you are willing to pay a supply teacher so it could actually say within your policy that you could only pay them up to M3, even though they might be a UPS [upper pay scale] teacher…and that's what you would say to the recruitment agency or that's the kind of agreement you might have (Georgina, Head Teacher)

Thus discourse around remuneration, produced through educational policy, circulates between the school, the recruitment agency and the supply teacher. In Georgina's extract the remuneration discourse between the school and the recruitment agency tips power towards the school, as the school is able to place a

[21] Further details are outlined in the School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document and Guidance on School Teachers Pay and Conditions – DfE 2013

value on the supply teacher despite the individual's actual experience. The data revealed how the remuneration discourse between schools and recruitment agencies impacted on similar discourse between the agency and the supply teacher. Furthermore, Martin's journey as a supply teacher reveals:

> the agency sent us all out a letter saying that in view of the current economic climate, problems with obtaining work, it may become necessary to ask us to take a cut in our daily rate. So, they were looking at reducing our daily rate to…one figure that was mentioned was £140 a day. Now I have to say that I personally have not been asked to take that cut…erm…The schools that I go into usually request me and they know what my rate is obviously. And they request me. However, I know that when I've spoken to some other supply teachers that some of them have agreed to take that cut and have been paid £140 a day. (Martin, supply teacher)

Within this extract we can see the various power discourses circulating around the recruitment agency. Similarly, as government policies emphasise the accountability of educators, power becomes legitimised as it permeates society. Persuasion, as Oliver (2010) notes, is a key factor of power and is needed for justification. Reference to the economic climate hints at the general state of the employment market in the UK as it dealt with the ongoing consequences of the 2008 recession as:

> truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. (Foucault, 1980b:131)

Thus, relating this to cuts in schools' funding and its effect on cover work, the agency uses the power/knowledge nexus to offer a 'reality' to the supply teacher. Hence, in order to continue to be offered work, the individual's daily rate may be 'reduced'.

One the one hand, Martin's recollection of the agency letter appears to be hinting at some sort of 'loyalty' or 'goodwill' between the individual and the agency and, I believe, an expectation of an acceptance of such change without resistance. Furthermore, the balance of power appears to favour the agency as it makes this request in the knowledge that the ultimate pay for the service of the supply teacher rests upon the discursive practice employed by the school and the agency.

Seemingly, the positioning of the supply teacher within the discourse appears to offer the individual little choice in the matter.

Yet Martin is apparently able to challenge the pay reduction through the power/ knowledge dynamic and his relationship with the school. Indicating that he is usually '*requested*' and that '*they know what my rate is, obviously*', Martin reveals that, in his discursive positioning as a supply teacher, he uses the discursive gap to assert his power with the recruitment agency to reject any compromise in his payment as a qualified teacher. The data suggests that since he was originally 'valued' at a top rate of pay, then any negotiations would be individual rather than as a blanket demand, thus indicating that Martin places great store on such 'valuation' which feeds into his identity and status as an educator. This can be contrasted to Ursula's experience below:

> So this is what happened – I got a call at 8.40 am one morning to teach at a primary school and was told that the 'school was only willing to pay £110 per day'. But when I got my payslip the gross was £100! I rang up the agency but nothing has been done as they said I signed for my time!' (Ursula, supply teacher)

In this instance, Ursula feels 'obliged' to work for £110 per day, having previously been informed that pay rate was '*dependent on the school*'. In this extract we can see how the parties use the power/knowledge mechanism (the agency intimates that they were unable to contest the stronger power of the school) as Ursula contests the lower pay she received. However, aware that Ursula signed for her time, the agency uses such knowledge to reinforce power in the refusal to amend the rate.

Retaining the upper hand over matters regarding determination of pay scales for workers leads to such control 'normalising' the expected remuneration of the supply teacher, creating tensions and friction. Thus, unlike Martin, Ursula appears quite 'powerless' in the face of the knowledge/power dynamics and discourses circulating between the agency, school and herself. Unable to negotiate her discursive positioning, a version of reality regarding pay rate is formed.

Martin's experience appears to be atypical of the rest of the supply teachers. Data illustrated that recruitment agencies 'normalised' expectations of the work force, enabling control to be exerted over remuneration issues. This in turn enables the 'power of the norm [to] function within a system of formal equality' (Foucault, 1991:184):

> But there's a differential of up to £20 per day. Yes, (I get) between £100 and £120 for teaching. The agencies don't discuss the rate when giving an assignment. (William, supply teacher – early retirement, ex-head of department)
>
> The agency I'm working for at the moment is TFA. Well, talking, to other…other supply teachers [the pay is]…terrible. But they seem to keep me busy. But their rate as well...I don't know if that's part of it…my rate is normally £100 or £110 per day. (George, supply teacher – thirty years' experience)
>
> I knew that I was on a daily rate of £100 as an NQT and know that goes up obviously but I know that was about what I would be getting…I'm with three different agencies, two of them pay £100 per day and the other pays £102. (Lucy, supply teacher – NQT)

Discursive practice thus positions the recruitment agencies as 'experts' within the industry able to speak the 'truth' about the worth of temporary workers and appears to uphold Foucault's argument that 'truth' isn't outside of power but derives from the 'reality' sanctioned by those who are 'charged with saying what counts as true' (Foucault, 1980b:131).

Given the above illustrations of the power/knowledge dynamic and the discursive practices operating in relation to recruitment agencies and supply teachers, it is prudent to revisit the school environment to appreciate how further discourses arise around the deployment of the supply teacher:

> I don't know whether they're UPS or M6. We're not given that information, we're just told to pay a certain amount when we've had the supply teacher. The recruitment agency charges us the same rate whoever they send. (Georgina, head teacher)

I would suggest that this unknown entity could give rise to tensions as conflict between expectations could ensue as Alice (permanent teacher) recalls:

> I think the other issue is the agency that we use. I don't think it pays them enough. I don't think it values the profession in the way that I would and I honestly believe that were they paid more…because I do know, somebody I know, who expects certain remuneration for their experience will not sign up to that agency because it pays less than it should and that has definitely impacted not just learners in our school but the teacher who's been absent. (Alice, permanent teacher and head of department)

Alice is clearly aware of the impact of the agency's inability to 'job match' the vacancy to the supply teacher. Tellingly, she also has concerns around the undervaluing of the professional capacity of the supply teacher and the effect on the quality of the supply staff who may not be able to deliver the standard of work expected, intimating that the supply teacher should expect pay commensurate with experience. New discourses arise concerning experience and subject knowledge for the permanent teacher requiring cover. Such new discourse may clash with existing discourses around cover requirements.

This is further compounded by discourses concerning the employment rights of those working on zero-hour contracts. Whilst this was a hot topic for discussion pending the 2015 general election, the remuneration of supply teachers remains a 'grey' area despite inclusion in the Agency Workers Regulations (2010) – see Appendix J. At macro-level the AWR guidance has deemed that regarding pay levels, the supply teacher is entitled to pay (or indeed holiday or sick pay), equal to that of a permanent teacher doing a similar job after a period of twelve weeks of continuous employment. However, I would argue that in practical terms it can safely be assumed that it becomes very difficult to achieve this, since term time is broken, by holidays, into six or seven week segments. But as discourse is 'associated with power and ability to exercise that power' (Oliver, 2010:29) then we can see that discursive practice centred around a cost/competition basis appears to render the supply teacher a work-unit or commodity usually deployed on a half-termly basis, no matter how 'continuous' the half-termly employment appears to be. The discursive positioning of the supply teacher within the school is affected by such new discourse as uncertainties within discursive positioning as a teacher may impact on perceptions of professional status.

To illustrate this I will consider the role of CPD discourse and the two-strand employer model in the form of the recruitment agency and the school. Which one is responsible for providing CPD?

> If its short-term [assignments], they're offered it but it doesn't matter if they do or don't, but if it's long term they would be encouraged to come along to the trainings and the departmental meetings too. (Cathy, permanent teacher)
>
> I can only comment on occasions when we may have had a departmental meeting or an after-school meeting and it's not been attended by supply staff. (Alice, permanent teacher, HOD)

Here we can see that both permanent teachers have an expectation that a supply teacher within their department would wish to enhance their knowledge, but whether discourses are extended to include supply teachers in general, is unknown. Furthermore, if the supply teacher has no access to the intranet, for example, then they will be unaware of such provision. However, as Joe points out, accountability for an outstanding lesson is a prerequisite for the 'good' teacher. But like most of the supply teachers interviewed Joe had not had any recent CPD:

> The agency told me 'It is essential for you to attend these [training courses] in order to comply with regs' and of course it wasn't. (Joe, supply teacher)

It transpired that the little CPD offered by agencies, tended to be at inconvenient times, often meaning a choice between being available to work or incurring travel expenses etc. in return for a short course at the agency. By marketing these courses as 'essential', the employment agencies attempt to exercise power over the supply teacher and presumably be seen to be catering for any training requirements. School provision of CPD for supply teachers produces further discourses. Should CPD form part of whole-school training and be part of an INSET day, then power dynamics may alter as discourse around funding may become an issue. On training days the supply teacher must be paid his/her daily rate for such attendance. Consequently, power mechanisms within school may exclude supply teachers from 'bought in training' to the detriment of any long-term cover requirements.

If I momentarily return to Alice, the awareness that school management are undertaking a cost and budgetary exercise, rather than addressing learning and

teaching needs causes concern for her and her permanent colleagues. However whether or not permanent teachers or HODs feel that they can challenge higher management decisions over the choice of recruitment agency or CPD issues for supply staff is not examined within this research. Nonetheless, the above extracts reveal how although power can legitimise and make practices acceptable, it remains an unstable entity as existing discourses circulate and clash as new ones are produced.

Theme Three – Identity and the Blurring of Boundaries

Governmental policies concerning teacher pay combined with general changes to educational policy formed the basis of the previous theme. This in turn led me to identify a further theme originating from the data, which highlights a perceived blurring of boundaries between the qualified (supply) teacher and the teaching assistant. As discourse between the school and the recruitment agency was produced it appears that market mechanisms and the powerful sales/marketing discourse blurred the distinction of the 'needing' of an experienced teacher and 'wanting' to pay a cover supervisor rate. This thus affected the discursive positioning and perceptions of what constituted a supply teacher:

> and here you go…it's a slippery slope where all of a sudden you're taking a drop in wages and at the same time they're sending Joe Bloggs in who hasn't got a proper teaching qualification. Where does it lead to? (George, supply teacher)

The metaphoric 'slippery slope' again alludes to mechanisms at macro-level spreading tentacles of power throughout the network of the many organisations that impact, through government policy and institutional practice, upon the role of the supply teacher. Although aware of the many changes to the educator workforce under the coalition government, George appears both perplexed and concerned about his seemingly 'powerless' situation. Yet it appears he was able to challenge his discursive positioning albeit after the assignment:

> She sent me there one day as a cover supervisor. And the thing is I didn't realise when she did it. But she's only done it the once! And I did say to her afterwards…'now look…if I want to be a cover supervisor I'll apply for a job as a cover supervisor'. (George, supply teacher)

Similarly, Joe made a pre-emptive move:

> I made it clear when I went into recruitment agency interviews that I wasn't going to be employed as a cover supervisor because I felt…this might sound very grandiose…but I felt that I was selling everybody short by doing that. I think that's the thin end of the wedge really. (Joe, supply teacher)

Identity as a teacher is uppermost for both Joe and George. Both extracts show resistance being employed regarding any negotiation of 'downshifting' of identity. Joe 'protected' his status in his refusal to 'sell everybody (including himself) short', indicating this at the outset. George, on the other hand makes his stance clear *after* being misled into an assignment as a cover supervisor.

From George's experience it can be seen how power within discursive practice can be used to situate the supply teacher in a position whereby identity is downwardly reconstituted in order to satisfy demands. Such apparent complicity between the recruitment agency and school affects both the perception and remuneration of such teachers:

> They're all the same. I'll tell you about this one in Maintown that I contacted a while ago, well they've started emailing and ringing me now but what they said was that even though I'm a teacher if I register with them I would have to have the first twelve weeks' pay at a cover supervisor rate! Thing is they only offer me TA/cover supervisor work which is £70 per day. (Ursula, supply teacher)

> It's exploitation as I get £70 per day as a cover supervisor or TA. As a teacher I get £120. Just exploitation! I don't like doing supply. (Raf, supply teacher)

Additionally, it appears that agency power in the example of Ursula's lower rate of pay or George's work as a cover supervisor, both involved 'underhand techniques', perhaps in anticipation of resistance to actions, but resulting in friction between the parties. Discursive practice situated them in a space where there appeared to be little room for negotiation of identity or status. But can the supply teacher put aside the role of teacher if employed as a cover supervisor or TA?

> Well now, they [the agency] know that I will do cover supervisor at a high standard they've got me as they keep saying that the schools want me back. I don't want to lose my languages and I miss the buzz of being a permanent language teacher. I can only refuse so much as I need the money, but sometimes it gets me so down that I have to take charge of my days. There's

> no way I'm doing a full week on supply. I've started needing my Fridays off! Anyway, I'm looking for a permanent post in a college where I can use higher level skills so hopefully I won't be doing supply much longer. (Raf, supply teacher)

For Raf, it appears that his identity as a language teacher and the skills that go with it are important to him. Despite the lower status of cover supervisor he sees this as an opportunity to use such skills but at the same time realises that the recruitment agency 'has got him' in terms of status and pay. In the extract we can also see how discourses overlap and contradict as power shifts between the agency, school and supply teacher. Discursive positioning as a cover supervisor is not outwardly contested by Raf. However, the discourse between Raf and the recruitment agency regarding deployment sees a change in the power/knowledge dynamic. Raf aware of being 'exploited' is able to assert his power to refuse a full week's work at this level of status and pay.

George's experience echoes the difficulty in setting aside subject and teaching knowledge:

> I walked into this PSE [personal and social education] lesson – only it wasn't...they'd moved the groups round. It was their first PSE lesson – there was no work there and I reckon for an hour (it was an hour lesson) I…there was no way I was a cover supervisor, I used all my ruddy teaching experience, initiative, knowledge to come up with a PSE lesson. (George, supply teacher)

George caught 'on the hop' without the necessary lesson plans, uses his teaching acumen to devise a lesson and educate the students. His identity as a teaching professional reflects his commitment to providing, without need to further disrupt learning, a lesson that reflected the school's objectives for that particular class. Of course, George had the choice of working to rule as a cover supervisor, since this was his positioning within discursive practice. Whilst he could use this route to demonstrate resistance to the situation, he seemingly internalised his dissatisfaction until he had the opportunity to take it up with the employment agency. But what caused him to do this? As Raf explains when working as a cover supervisor:

> I think that if, sometimes if the people you work with, if your line manager etc. at the school is aware that you are a teacher, you are more highly qualified then sometimes they might ask you...they might expect a little bit more, although you're only being paid the same as somebody who isn't. (Raf, supply teacher)

But despite a perception of exploitation, the supply teacher often prefers not to exhibit resistance within the domain of the classroom. In such confines the individual is able to reconstitute his/her professionalism and identity as a competent teacher within classroom discourse i.e. between the supply teacher and the students. Perhaps being a 'teacher' rather than a 'cover supervisor' is a 'reflex action' and the ability within the classroom to reconstitute such a persona perhaps a contributory factor to personal notions of professionalism. Regardless of this, however, the data highlighted the numerous discourses around competencies, remuneration and identity produced by the discursive positioning of the supply teacher on assignment.

Theme Four – Surveillance and the Recruitment Agency

Whilst discourse governs the way a topic can be talked about and influences how ideas are put into practice to 'regulate the conduct of others' (Hall, 1997:44), disciplinary power, in the form of surveillance is exercised upon the individual to produce 'subjected and practised bodies' (Foucault, 1991:138). Foucault posits that there are two images of discipline. 'At one extreme, the discipline-blockade, the enclosed institution, at the other extreme, with panopticism, is the discipline mechanism' Foucault (1991:209). Thus it could be argued that surveillance mechanisms effectively subject the supply teacher to a double gaze. This double gaze, I believe, is due to the apparent 'fragmentation of the concept of the employer' (Grimshaw et al., 2003:268) – both the recruitment agency and the school – placing emphasis on panopticism as the main mechanism of control of the individual. But 'we tolerate this exercise of power only because it is hidden in the everyday' (Allan, 2013:24). The concept of discipline through the mechanism of surveillance, Foucault argues, allows conformity through constant monitoring of individuals. Given that the recruitment agency is not able to monitor the individual from a first-hand perspective, surveillance on behalf of the employment agency

becomes ‘second-hand’ and dependent on the gaze within the institution. The dangers of this, of course, were highlighted in the example of Raf and the choking student in the previous chapter (page 60), and the ensuing loss of context. Drawing on Foucault, surveillance rendered Raf’s actions as the docile body ‘stepping out of line’ rather than being able to ‘see’ the actual urgency of the situation. The reaction to the incident by the agency caused Raf to question how his professional identity was perceived by others.

Whilst this experience may be regarded as a cautionary tale for the supply teacher, surveillance and the complexity of power in modern times means that, according to Foucault:

> disciplinary power…is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. (Foucault, 1991:187)

I further illustrate the effects that this has on the individual through Ursula’s story:

> So at the end of the day, the receptionist said as I was leaving at three-fifteen, ‘just a minute can I have a word with you?’ She asked me whether I’d done all the marking. Whether I’d tidied up…then she looked at the clock, glared at me and said ‘we don’t allow our supply teachers to leave before three-thirty’. Even though the student teacher*, who had been with me all day*, confirmed it as she was signing out and leaving. The receptionist then went and got the Head, who told me to sit and wait! (Ursula, supply teacher)

Here, within Ursula’s recollection of the last day of term at a primary school, a glimpse of the surveillance mechanism in operation can be noted. Throughout the day Ursula had been with either a student teacher or TA who ‘checked’ that work was done to a satisfactory standard, hence rendering all Ursula’s actions visible, as she assumed the ‘docile body’, recognised by Foucault, in the knowledge that she was being watched. Despite her efficiency and own personal standards regarding marking and tidying up Ursula was judged by the norm in regards to task and time factors. Furthermore, as she went to leave, she was reminded of the fact that she was not ‘allowed’ to leave the premises until advised. Through such disciplinary coercion, Foucault argues that any power and energy that Ursula may possess is reversed as ‘a relation of strict subjection’ (Foucault, 1991:138), ensuring that the

disciplined body does not deviate from the norm. Consequently, Ursula complied with the request, aware that such surveillance reached the agency.

Although resistance is part of the power relationship, we can see by using Foucault's example of the penal system as a reference that being defined as 'normal' allows release, or in other words one 'plays the game'. To deviate from the rules invites punishment in some form and for the supply teacher this could mean an unsatisfactory report back to the agency, or reduced work opportunity, so indeed it may be easier to accept the 'rules' and perhaps interpret them as 'obligations'. But as this chapter details, this is dependent on individual circumstances. As such, from a Foucauldian viewpoint, disciplinary power serves to normalise both the behaviour and expectations of the individual. Similarly, any deviant behaviour, as seen in the case of Ursula, who deviates from the 'norm' expected from a supply teacher and timekeeping, is punished by the individual being made to stay behind since 'disciplinary punishment has the function of reducing gaps. It must therefore be essentially *corrective*' (Foucault 1991:179 original emphasis).

In the previous chapter (page 57), Martin implied that playground duties were seen to be part of the remit of the supply teacher whether or not they featured in the duties of the permanent teacher being covered. Idle time does not feature in the supply teacher's day – 'time measured and paid must also be a time without impurities or defects; a time of good quality' (Foucault, 1991:151). So whilst Martin, within the 'gaze', could be seen to be disciplined in the unwritten rules of the school and the control of activities, Ursula was apparently seen to be idle and not providing maximum value for the school or the agency.

> Like if you were a permanent teacher you'd want nice routines, excellent behaviour, working really hard, nice and positive. You never get it quite like that, but it's OK. Sometimes I get teaching assistants coming up to me and say 'I've not seen him like that before…you've done really well today with that one…you've done really well'. (Raf, supply teacher)

As Raf highlights, unlike the permanent teacher, achieving the goals of the institution is sometimes a harder task for the supply teacher and not always

reached. Surveillance in the form of the teaching assistant and positive comments, allude to Raf conforming to the expected norm of the institution, whilst at the same time serving to discourage any acts of resistance that may occur. In effect, there appears to be a softer form of constructing docility and compliance, compared to the harsher forms of subjection experienced by Ursula.

Of course, the supply teacher is often alone in class without a TA, but is nonetheless aware of the subtlety of the how the 'the gaze is everywhere' (Foucault, 1991:195):

> You've got to hit bullseyes five times in every lesson otherwise it's suddenly not an outstanding lesson and, er, basically if the kids come to my room and they wanted to start, they want to join in and they want to share and they want to learn then I think that's great. (Joe, supply teacher)

In this short extract, however, it appears that Joe, despite an awareness of the 'gaze', feels able to justify, if needs be, why he has been unable to hit the bullseye in every lesson. Joe's identity as a professional enables him to draw upon other notions of professionalism, such as ethics and experience on engaging the children in the set work. How disciplinary power is manifested to reward or punish this 'deviation from the norm' is dependent on the institution, and Joe appears to be comfortable in the knowledge that he may have to justify his actions in the inevitable feedback he must produce.

Summary

Outside of the relative sanctuary of the classroom, it appears that the supply teacher becomes enmeshed in the many circulatory discourses concerning the wider issues of employment, remuneration and training. By highlighting the key themes it can be seen how some issues overlap with those highlighted in the previous chapter. Unlike the discourses within the classroom characterised by issues such as behaviour management or lesson planning, whereby the supply teacher can draw on practical experience to underpin identity and associated professionalism, discursive practices within the recruitment agency regarding employment appear to situate the supply teacher in a more unfamiliar place.

Extracts from data highlight how the impact of the privatisation of services for supply cover has moved the supply teacher away from the relative comfort and safety of the LEA into a world where market mechanisms dictate how, when and where their expertise should be deployed. CPD appears to be an area in which both schools and agencies appear reluctant to commit, leaving the onus on the supply teacher to update skills.

From the extracts there appears to be indication of an increasing homogenisation of this sector of educators in areas of remuneration. However, I would also suggest that from such homogeneity, it is possible to measure how individuals differ from each other in acts of resistance by positioning them against this norm, as put forward by Foucault in the opening quote to this chapter. From the analysis of data, it would seem that supply participants may have different key drivers when negotiating any discursive gap. This appears to be due to differences in the life/career stage of the individual.

Furthermore, the exploration of the macro aspects related to supply teaching and thus wider employment discourse, appears to indicate that the supply teacher may find it harder to employ resistance when confronted with lower pay levels or when being deployed as a cover supervisor. I would suggest that this is possibly to avoid any associated repercussion in the form of reduced employment. However, on the other hand it seems that within the classroom the supply teacher working as a cover supervisor finds it easier to resist the lower status despite discursive positioning. In such instances discourse (learning, teaching, classroom management) between the supply teacher and students restores professional identity as a *qualified teacher* in the classroom and thus contributes to notions of professionalism. This chapter thus illustrates the dynamism of power/knowledge mechanisms and the contradictions that they bring. Whilst professional identity may at times be compromised the data illustrates that there may be opportunities to bridge any discursive gaps and introduce new discourses.

By the use of Foucauldian concepts and tools to investigate how power mechanisms have been traditionally employed within schools, and more latterly

recruitment agencies, I have attempted to illustrate how supply teachers may constitute notions of professionalism. However, as power continues to be dispersed throughout society, Foucauldian concepts encourage me to explore further how surveillance may be refined as old techniques are replaced. Thus in the following chapter I look at how Deleuzian concepts of control may complement Foucauldian concepts of discipline as surveillance mechanisms become more sophisticated in a fast-moving society, offering a sense of freedom yet at the same time ensuring that discipline, albeit in a more subtle form, contributes to our actions and behaviours.

Chapter 6: Revisiting Theory – Mechanisms of Contemporary Surveillance and the Supply Teacher

> *Everyone wants to be free; and the freer they are, the more unfree they become.* Ben Okri (2014:91)

Contemporising Foucauldian Notions of Discipline

In the previous chapter, the role of surveillance and its connection with discipline was examined as I unpacked the individual experiences retold by the participants in the research. As educational policies are continually introduced or redrawn the effect on society and deployment of supply staff changes. However, I am reminded by Foucault not to see his work as the end-all of theory but to use it to encourage further thought as I explore and analyse the data.

This chapter outlines how Deleuze's thinking about power invites me to consider how modern society might be considered to be undergoing a shift from Foucault's disciplinary society with its historical anchoring in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and relationship with the prison metaphor, outlined in Chapter 3, to a post-industrialist digital era centred around information technology and societies of control. This shift brings with it, Deleuze argues, a move away from the production of docile bodies formed within enclosed spaces (office, factory etc.) to one where power is spread through various modulating mechanisms and 'where boundaries are inevitably blurred in order to keep up with the vast speed of politics' (Ruffolo, 2008:online).

Hence, Deleuze suggests that the oppositional politics and binaries of disciplinary society need to be rethought due to the changing nature of power and its effect on relationships and identities. Thus the supply teacher and notions of professionalism within modern society may be caught up in this shift. However, it must be remembered that, despite this, society and its accompanying power/knowledge relationships have not suddenly swung from disciplinary enclosures to a more dispersed notion of control and thus there are:

> still ways in which bodies are disciplined in the Foucauldian sense. This is precisely why we are involved in an ongoing shift from discipline to control:

> control mechanisms emerge out of, rather than being distinctively separate from, disciplinary practices. (Ruffolo, 2008: online)

It is this shift to the digital era that prompts me to consider the role of control through modulation and its effect on constituting notions of professionalism. Just as Foucault (1977, cited in Allan, 1996:220) offered me a 'box of tools' to further my understanding, Deleuze introduces new concepts and metaphors to further open my thinking, giving me further 'tools' with which to analyse and reconsider behaviours.

Consequently, by drawing on the Deleuzian concept of *modulation* or the 'merging of discipline society and control society' (Raunig, 2009: online) as a form of control outlined in 'Postscript to the Societies of Control' (1992) this chapter explores how Foucault's theory of discipline can be extended to help understand the mechanisms of surveillance and control within contemporary society. Modulation, 'whereby aspects of the disciplinary society and the control society are always seen to be intertwined' (Raunig, 2009:online), means that one is never finished. Learning, for example, affects students and teachers alike. It never ends – it is a continuous process.

Before discussing how surveillance affects the discourses around the supply teacher, it is important to illustrate how surveillance (post-Foucault) has become normalised through the development of information technology. This has enabled surveillance to become an almost inevitable part of daily life. Hence, in order to offer a general illustration of contemporary surveillance mechanisms and their effects, I draw on the works of various authors including Lianos (2003) who offers understanding of wider mechanisms of social control post-Foucault, and Martinez (2011) who gives an insight into management control in contemporary firms. Other authors drawn upon (for example, Palmas, 2011 or Teissen, 2011) outline how post-panoptic surveillance, albeit in a subtle form, has become a given in contemporary society, ostensibly for security issues ranging from national safety to combatting fraudulent activity.

Through these referrals I highlight how societies of control are operating throughout both the private and public lives of citizens as the mechanisms of surveillance become more sophisticated, meaning that:

> we are no longer enclosed in the mole holes of panopticism any more, we are free to roam between disciplinary institutions. (Palmas, 2011:342)

I begin this chapter by outlining the similarities and differences in the works of Foucault and Deleuze in order that it becomes clearer how I am able to draw on strands from both theorists as I revisit aspects of my research. I include a brief discussion on how aspects of Deleuze's ideas enable me to build on the Foucauldian analysis (at times referring to the joint works of Deleuze and Guattari for further illustration) that provides the framework and basis for this study on notions of professionalism and the supply teacher. Introducing aspects of Deleuzian perspectives will also encourage further understanding of how politics at macro-level may affect interactions and interpersonal exchanges at a micro-level. To that end, Deleuze's interest in capitalist society may further shed light on the marketisation of education, its effect on the identity of the supply teacher and the potential to move from passivity to activity in response and possible resistance. As the chapter develops, I refer back to the data to illustrate specific points in the theory and local constellations of power to further investigate Foucault's notion of local criticism and boundaries. After contemplating the role of ethics in relation to constructing notions of professionalism, I conclude the chapter with a brief discussion on the role of the teaching unions and their relationship with supply teachers in contemporary society.

The Relationship Between Foucault and Deleuze – Similarities and Differences

To understand the intertwining of discipline and control as put forward by Deleuze it must be appreciated that the advent of new forces and regimes following the end of WWII brought new mechanisms of control and sites of confinement to society. However, despite attempt reform to the old disciplinary societies of enclosure, Deleuze suggests that they were already in their death throes, 'awaiting the installation of the new forces knocking at the door' (Deleuze, 1992:4). It is these

new forces that would, for example, bring concepts of panopticism, from the twenty to the twenty-first century, moving from a single surveillance viewpoint to mechanisms of surveillance that meshed together and exchanged information. Hence it is suggested by Ruffolo (2008) amongst others that Deleuzian ideas about societies of control are able to complement Foucault's analysis of early twentieth-century disciplinary structures. Therefore, if I turn to my own research concerning the supply teacher as a professional, I can contemplate whether such meshing and exchanging of information may be illustrated in the surveillance mechanisms at a macro-level in relation to discourses circulating around the supply teacher.

Both Foucault and Deleuze had an overriding concern with the proliferation of normalising discourse which inveigles both professional and social life alike, but, despite this causing a common bond between the two (and also Guattari), each theorist favours different types of analysis, methods and motives. Consequently, whilst Foucault concentrated on discipline and the body when regarding the role of power and knowledge, Deleuze and Guattari investigated desire, discourse and institutions, focussing on a micro-dynamic approach. Such diversion can further be seen in Foucault's concept of bio-power (political control over life itself) in contrast to Deleuze's concept of societies of control which postulates post-disciplinary forms of modulated and flexible control (Morar et al., 2014). Yet both admired aspects of each other's work (Crain, 2013; Best and Kellner, 1991).

It is by looking at Deleuze's metaphors that represent a shift from enclosure to movement that I am able to look at discipline, normalisation and control in ways that 'break away from the weight imposed by the image of the Panopticon' (Martinez, 2011:202) when I revisit aspects of theory and data from my research. Using the metaphor of a mole burrow and its confining space to describe a Foucauldian environment of discipline, Deleuze is able to contrast contemporary society and unconfined space with a metaphorical serpent to illustrate movement. In this way, the contemporary mechanisms of control in the form of the 'reaches of the serpent' as it slithers quickly and easily between spaces, unfettered and unconfined, unlike the mole and the disciplines within the confines of each separate environment, can be visualised.

For the supply teacher enmeshed in discourses of educational policies, then, I must also consider how notions of freedom affect professionalism and identity since freedom and choice, are an illusion (Crain, 2013). As each school interprets and implements government policies, authors such as Selwyn (2011) draw on Foucault and Deleuze to explore the effect of subtle surveillance via school IT systems and software on the school staff who encounter such mechanisms on a daily basis. Hence, whilst alluding to a semblance of freedom, modern surveillance apparatus, with its absence of a physical and visible overseer, means that freedom is bound up within the 'invisible guidelines' as suggested by the Okri quotation at the beginning of this chapter. However, the normalising of discourses may also impact on the supply teacher's notion of professionalism as the data illustrates.

Surveillance and Control in the Workplace – Horses for Courses

So how does surveillance and control in our daily behaviour inform me of the practices and mechanisms adopted in the contemporary workplace or indeed the classroom? First, Foucauldian concepts can be extended to investigate contemporary management controls. As Deleuze (1990) in conversation with Negri points out, it was Foucault who was one of the first to note the move away from disciplinary societies. Although Cowton and Dobson (2002, cited in Martinez, 2011) argue that a Foucauldian approach does not account for changes in the mechanism of control, I can consider how everyday life is no longer monitored or normalised through the individual confines of the factory walls and the 'protected place of disciplinary monotony' (Foucault, 1991:141). Hence, by furthering the Foucauldian concept used as a basis for exploration, through Deleuze's metaphoric illustration of moles and serpents, I can further understand how the advent of the borderless and seamless mechanisms of technology are moving us away from the discipline of confinement to the wider-reaching movement of power dispersed throughout society. The panoptic gaze as a Foucauldian analytical tool has indeed spread, far beyond the prison, to the realm of the everyday, adopting more subtle mechanisms as it becomes part of the everyday since:

> we are moving towards control societies that no longer operate by confining people but through continuous control and instant communication. (Deleuze, 1990:174)

Late Capitalist Societies of Control and the Supply Teacher

In reminding us that Foucault, in his work *Discipline and Punish* (1991), drew attention to how the various structures influenced and homogenised social behaviour in a disciplinary society, Lianos (2011), argues that in a society of control it is necessary to consider the mechanisms at work within institutional frames of activity, that is the 'instrument for the conscious and planned management of socialised human activity' (Lianos, 2011:415), in more depth. This allows me to consider how the Deleuzian suggestion that the rigid mechanisms of Foucault's enclosure and panoptic metaphor are giving way to a more subtle form of control which may impact on the supply teacher. Drawing attention to managerial (a form of institutional) control, Lianos (2011) notes amongst other things that:

1. Institutional control (IC) is a planned rather than spontaneous action.
2. IC is bureaucratic and integral to specific activities. It is part of both the rational and outcome. It is best not to distinguish between controlling and non-controlling aspects.
3. IC can be perceived as liberating and beneficial as much as constraining.
4. IC isolates the legitimate user from a (dangerous) other. Thus it is an efficient machine for producing social identities through a process of fragmentation.
5. IC is impersonal in origin and applied by an institution as part of the homogenous distribution of a certain activity and interaction between institution and user. It consists of a managerial monitoring and feedback cycle.

Bearing these observations in mind, I can gain a better overview of how a combination of both Foucauldian and Deleuzian tools can offer insight into how the professional identity of the supply teacher might be affected and how new discourses are produced.

First, I will return to the supply teacher and the arrival at, and undertakings of, a daily booking or placement (see Chapter 4) to investigate the development and strategic shift in power. Referring back to the comment made by Joe:

> I've had children say to me, 'you're not a real teacher' because they won't give you a log-in to get on the SIMS for example to register a class. So you turn up with a paper register and straight away the children's perception of you is that you're just another...adult coming into the room and that you're not...that you're not… deserving of an equal amount of respect as a permanent teacher. (Joe, supply teacher)

Here we get a glimpse of Deleuze's perspective of a more subtle form of control over the supply teacher and see how the invisible reach of the 'coils of the serpent' (Deleuze, 1992:7) means that the school is able to 'lock out' Joe from digital means of registering and indeed verifying the identities of the pupils in his charge by denying him an access code for the computer program. By the same token, however, we can see how George (below) is seemingly given access to a wider territory through being allowed to access pre-loaded lesson plans and a (limited) amount of accessible computerised institutional and pupil data:

> I've got a log-on for SIMS, I do the register…The PowerPoint comes up and you teach and go through the stages that are left. I've not been to a school yet where the work that's left is to such a good standard. It's always there and it's made easier for me as a teacher to deliver a good lesson because their resources, again it's only in the form of a PowerPoint or detailed instructions and I do it. And again that's the schools responsibility to ensure that in a secondary because if it's day-to day their kids are receiving a lesson. (George, supply teacher, see page 67)

Of course, this 'ease of delivery' is a double-edged sword. It enables the school to monitor George's activities through the freedom to access (some) resources but at the same time enforce tighter restrictions on the body by remote surveillance. From a Deleuzian perspective this action is similar to data collection techniques in the wider social world (the amassing of data via software cookies) since every time George logs on or accesses information he leaves a digital footprint which can be monitored by the institution's IT technicians. In this way, not only can a record be kept of which programs were accessed and when, other information regarding his timekeeping (via log on and off times) can be noted and a profile of his working

habits constructed. Similarly, should he wish to access any websites in his lunch-time, maybe to check his bank balance or update social media, his computer activity is open to scrutiny and his browser history logged. This enables further discourse to be produced concerning productivity. Gone is the factory measurement of production and output by overt surveillance in the working day, as its place is taken over by the notion of the 'corporation' (Deleuze, 1992:4), the spirit of which replaces the confines of the physical factory walls but brings with it tighter parameters. However, the diffuse matrix of power hides behind an illusion of freedom and 'an apparatus of power can exert control over us precisely by letting us "do whatever we want"' (Crain, 2013:online), shaping George's sense of professional identity as he undertakes his daily tasks.

The lesson plan to which George is allowed access has been placed on the system 'primarily to enforce officially mandated models of "best practice"' (Selwyn, 2011:477), not only ensuring that the supply teacher conforms to a certain normalisation, but also ensuring that standardisation is achieved across all teaching materials. Selwyn (2011) further elucidates that there is:

> …routine use of the system to render individual teachers' lesson plans "open" for "editing" and "adjusting" by more experienced and specialised colleagues. (Selwyn, 2011:478)

This is often without the teacher being aware that their planning is being scrutinised. Hence, from a Deleuzian viewpoint, George's freedom to teach is being guided by pre-constructed work and targets set by the school.

Or, as Martinez (2011) argues, one can be kept in line:

> Through management controls as a component of a modality of power, exercised through overlapping digital information networks that extend throughout the social landscape. (Martinez, 2011:202)

Information technology is certainly a powerful tool, and its increasing deployment within schools is further discussed in the next section.

Indeed, the corporation or school may choose to allow access to only certain websites or highlight searches containing letters in a certain order. Software programs are now being marketed to schools as part of the ongoing 'War on Terror' profiting from the need for duty of care required under the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015. Reflecting Deleuze's (1992) assertion that capitalism always finds an opportunity, software (e.g. Impero) which is able to monitor pupils' web activity by flagging 'extremist-related' words or phrases such as 'Jihadi Bride' or 'War on Islam' is the most recent development to deter pupils becoming radicalised (Taylor, 2015). The same package that offers this monitoring, also includes 'pogrom' and 'John Cantlie', as key-word detectors for teacher interruption – potentially putting those with inquisitive minds in the same category as future suicide bombers. For the supply teacher, a lack of awareness of such developments has the potential for professionalism to be questioned and could lead to questions of carelessness/irresponsibility or raise CPD concerns. This could lead to further discourses around notions of professionalism should an innocent or ad hoc lesson involve a search on contemporary world issues.

Referring to the above extracts I am able to illustrate how Foucault's notion of the Panopticon with regard to contemporary surveillance is seen to shift as sophistication in IT techniques encourages control to flow through the social landscape as the digital era enables our everyday actions to be tracked and monitored. Thus, as surveillance, monitoring and control become more widespread at governmental level of society, so the employer is able to adopt similar apparatus and techniques in the workplace accordingly.

In this way the 'individuals' of Foucauldian society become the 'codes' or 'dividuals' of Deleuzian society as our lives become ordered by what we are allowed to do and what we are barred from doing through our levels of access. Control mechanisms subtly operate throughout our social- and workspaces, including or excluding, accepting or rejecting, ensuring we conform with coded remits, regulating and modulating our behaviour. Deleuze, with regard to the ATM machine posits:

> …one's (dividual) electronic card…raises a given barrier; but the card could just as easily be rejected on a given day or between certain hours; what counts is not the barrier but the computer that tracks each person's position – licit or illicit – and effects a universal modulation. (Deleuze, 1992:7)

Returning to the school environment (Bogard 2007) draws attention to the fact that the tighter control over bodies through such means as ID cards, entrance codes and electronic passwords also serves to exploit openness (permanent staff have access to most areas of the school) thus offering a sense of freedom and choice, but stresses that, at the same time, the use of codes and passwords brings the ability to close out and restrict access. Control through such codes can be noted in the illustration of the marking out of the supply teacher by the lanyard and the visitor badge not programmed to access all areas (see Chapter 4). Moreover, electronic keypads record who has entered what space and when, reflecting the surveillance and control mechanism of the bank card, discussed earlier. In effect, replacing the 'time and motion' discipline of the factory, with a more sophisticated, and invisible control mechanism, illustrates that:

> Enclosures are molds, distinct castings, but controls are a modulation, like a self-deforming cast that will continuously change from one moment to the other, or like a sieve whose mesh will transmute from point to point. (Deleuze, 1992:4)

More sophisticated methods such as retinol scans or fingerprint scanning enhance this control even further, ensuring that passwords and identity cards cannot be loaned out to others. Such fingerprint scanning is now a given in many aspects of society from entrance to leisure facilities to school students 'paying' for lunch from their pre-loaded account. Of course, such shifts in technology are non-uniform across society or indeed schools, with some sectors being earlier adopters than others. Hence in the researching of the supply teacher and his/her encounters in a range of schools from small primaries to large academies and their own distinct corporate branding chains, I am reminded that there are distinct technologies of power at play within society. Consequently, the ongoing shift from the 'individual' to the 'dividual' does not suggest that the body can no longer be fixed or static since 'there are still ways in which the body can be disciplined in the Foucauldian sense' (Ruffolo, 2008:online).

Nonetheless, the use of institutional control mechanisms (Lianos, 2011) suggests the manipulation of timetabling in the following extract. This ostensibly serves to bar the supply teacher from teaching more 'able' classes:

> I had a timetable where…they created a timetable which effectively was about minimising disruption in other people's exam classes, so my time table was…composed largely of classes which had a lot of disaffected children in there. (Joe, supply teacher)

Likewise, the observation by Martin (see page 57) that he always had to undertake playground duty, also intimates manipulation of the timetable through managerial mechanisms. This hints at Lianos's (2011) suggestion that managerial control is planned rather than spontaneous as it seeks to produce social identities through a process of fragmentation and the homogenous distribution of a certain activity, perhaps feeding notions of marginalisation and identity. Having looked at the mechanisms of surveillance within the classroom, I now turn to revisit the recruitment agency and the effects of marketisation of the supply teacher with regard to the power relationships and discourses enveloping the supply teacher. First, I will begin by discussing the impact of government policy on temporary workers and the relationship between the recruitment agency and this group of educators.

Policy Change and the Recruitment Agency in Societies of Control

As discussed earlier in the thesis (see Chapter 2) the demise of the LEA-controlled supply teams saw a rise in the number of recruitment agencies offering supply teacher services. However, apart from a disparity of pay for supply teachers, privatisation also meant a lack of regulation of other issues for supply teacher. Consequently, the DfES (Department for Education and Skills) introduced a Quality Mark (QM) scheme in 2002 issued to recruitment agencies for adherence to certain standards. Whilst membership was voluntary, it was hoped that schools would opt to use staff from agencies affiliated to the scheme as the QM award acted as a safeguard for supply teachers regarding aspects of exploitation and fairness as educators.

Interestingly, by 2013 as I undertook the research for this thesis, there were two concurrent developments. As the DfE issued a statement of intent regarding the introduction of performance-related pay (PRP) for teachers from September 2013 (Walker: 2013), so plans were afoot to dismantle the QM scheme:

> The Quality Mark scheme, including the use of the scheme logo will end on 31 March 2013 when the existing contract with the REC [Recruitment and Employment Federation] expires. The Department believes that the recruitment industry should make its own arrangements to quality assure teacher recruitment and ensure compliance with relevant legislation without Government involvement. We hope that the trade bodies will continue to help the sector with compliance and build upon the good work already undertaken by the REC. (DfE, 25th January 2013)

Replacing the above with AWR (See Appendix J) guidance on supply teachers to address pay scales, holiday pay and issues surrounding the hirer, meant that the supply teacher no longer had the backing of the DfE regarding the aforementioned issues, leading John Dunn, Chair of Education at the REC, to comment that:

> It is important that agencies understand that whilst the guidance provides advice as to how AWR should be implemented, it is not legally binding. This underlines the need for agencies to communicate with their clients to understand respective structures, roles and responsibilities. (Staffing Industry Analysts, 2011:online)

As communication within the industry appears dismal and fragmented, power (and thus control) becomes individualised to specific agencies and establishments. As my research seeks to explore the construction of professionalism, including identity, attention has been drawn to how this affects the marginal positioning of the supply teacher within the power/knowledge dynamic. From a Deleuzian perspective, as power darts between entities, it is suggested that the ensuing blurring of boundaries and binary positioning may enable the supply teacher to use power in its various guises to reconstitute notions of professionalism.

The Recruitment Agency and the Marketisation of the Supply Teacher

As highlighted in Chapter 2 it could be argued that the main drivers of education in the twenty-first century are centred around productivity, efficiency and freedom of choice. Hence, by revisiting the role of the supply agency and the Deleuzian concept

of control, I draw attention to how modern society enmeshes and entwines mechanisms of control in the shape of government (policy) and commerce (the recruitment agency) to further productivity and efficiency. This means that as old mechanisms are increasingly replaced by more sophisticated and subtle strategies in order to complement our 'freedom' then:

> We no longer find ourselves dealing with the mass/individual pair. Individuals have become 'dividuals,' and masses, samples, data, markets, or 'banks'. Deleuze (1992:5)

Indeed, 'Marketing has become the centre of the "soul" of the corporation…and forms the impudent breed of our masters' (Deleuze, 1992:6). As noted in Chapter 5, the employment of supply teachers has become a cost exercise for schools and a price-based commodity for the numerous recruitment agencies as they vie for business. As also highlighted in Chapter 5, this has meant that areas such as CPD have become a contentious issue in their provision. Without continuous training, the professional (from any of the professions) soon loses his/her edge over the competition. For permanent teachers since performance-related pay is decided by the head teacher for each individual this is used as a motivational factor. Indeed it is such rivalry within the corporation which is promoted as 'an excellent motivational force that opposes individuals against one another and runs through each, dividing each within' (Deleuze, 1992:5). Yet from the data it appears that the skills and past experience of supply teachers appear to be less of a concern for agencies, as cost issues appear to be the bargaining tool of choice as recruitment agencies battle for prominence in filling school cover requirements:

> yeah, who could blame someone for taking the cheap option, because very often the decisions about who goes into a classroom aren't made by anybody to do with education at all, they're made by finance officers in a school. So these decisions aren't made on whether or not you're really engaging in the classroom, (possibly) how many years you have accrued but 'are you cheaper than the other person?' (Joe, supply teacher)

Hence, it is suggested that the supply teacher is increasingly chosen, not through subject-matching but on a cost basis. This then places the individual in a situation whereby in order to get work, s/he must agree to a market rate set by the agencies

in compliance with the 'spirit of the corporation', but one that is increasingly forced down as schools realise that as consumers they have the option of choice:

> …it could actually say within your policy that you could only pay them up to M3 [Mainscale 3], even though they might be a UPS teacher. (Georgina, head teacher)

But for the supply teacher, this 'freedom of choice' of employment and recruitment agency is an illusion – as pay rates and costs are controlled by the supply agencies, with large organisations forcing smaller agencies to adopt the remuneration and costs that they control. This is seen in the extract on page 89 discussing the letter received by Martin. The corporation described by Deleuze in which wages are lower and bonuses are psychological, has become a reality. This is illustrated in the 2012 survey findings of recruitment company, Giant. Although it was found that 77 per cent of supply teachers expected a wage rise the following year, its Managing Director, Matthew Brown, countered this by stating that:

> Long term placements are a goal for many supply teachers, and they are willing to sacrifice higher hourly pay if it means they might get it. (Recruiter, 2012:online)

But since my own data indicates that agencies are constantly lowering the rates of pay for supply teachers (or offering rates relating to cover supervisor status) this illustrates a double effect of a control society on the supply teacher. Analysis of data indicates little or no chance of a pay increase since remuneration is not performance-based. This shows a gap between expectations and reality, in that commitment and hard work are excluded from any enhancement to remuneration.

Consequently, Brown's statement highlights the control and power of the corporation over the professional. Yet the changing nature of power relationships and discourses between the supply teacher and the (sometimes multiple) recruitment agencies that increasingly provide the link between the supply teacher and the school, must also be considered when discussing the move towards a new politics of freedom suggested by Deleuze. This must also be borne in mind when considering how response or resistance to marketisation of supply teaching is interpreted by the supply teacher. The highly efficient mechanism of panopticism

within a confined space produced the subject through a discourse of power and knowledge, rendering self-policing and subjugated individuals as docile bodies relevant to, as (Ruffolo, 2008) points out, each particular institution.

The shift towards a society of control, on the other hand, as bodies produced through neoliberal capitalism become increasingly mobile, brings a change in the very notion of power as it moves from sovereign to diverse as it spreads through localised control mechanisms. This makes it, as Ruffolo (2008) further argues:

> more difficult to think about bodies as fixed and stable wholes that can be accounted for through disciplinary technologies that are accounted for through representations and significations. (Ruffolo, 2008: online)

Thus, oppressive binary oppositions (master/slave, inside/outside) reduce as disciplinary societies diminish and fixed boundaries give rise to open spaces. The sovereign right of the monarch or the disciplinary society of the factory has given way to dispersed power within control societies, changing the power formation of relationships as it does so. Thus, it is possible that new politics advocate that the supply teacher is no longer positioned on the outside since the changing power dynamic intimates a blurring of the traditional binary as power is circulated through relationships. This suggests that those on the margins are enabled to find spaces to resist or respond.

Local Criticisms and the Politics of Silence

Referring to the earlier discussion on control, my reading of Deleuze thus stimulates my thinking as I continue to contemplate how professionalism is perceived. Given the suggestion that in contemporary times 'the principle of enclosure is realised through management control systems' (Martinez, 2011:203), I continue to wonder how this affects the professional status of the supply teacher. Furthermore, it is suggested that as 'institutional control is a planned managerial activity' and part of the 'complex mode of organisation of contemporary western society' (Lianos, 2003:415) it can be seen as beneficial or liberating as much as constraining. Hence it is within these local constellations of power that I can return to investigate Foucault's notion of local criticism as I continue to investigate the dynamics of

power and control. As Brown (2005) postulates it is by investigating boundaries, constitutive powers and the like at local level that we can challenge and displace that which 'shapes the problem at hand' (Brown 2005:viii). But I also note that whilst Foucault's earlier work of *Discipline and Punish* (originally published in 1975), is centred around the docility and manipulation of the subject, the idea of resistance becomes problematic and a contradictory issue of Foucauldian theory as, on the one hand, Foucault advocates it but, on the other, offers no indication of how it should be adopted or addressed (as discussed in Chapter 3). In this regard, I can see that within the panoptic model of the prison, on which Foucault based his theory of the docile body, that the subject formed within the ensuing discourse, was normalised through the homogenisation of behaviour. As such, docility meant that self-policing of behaviour was required in order to 'fit in' and avoid punishment, leaving little room for displays of resistance. That said, however, Foucault's interest in the role of power saw his later work (e.g. *The History of Sexuality*, 1978)[22] bring the role of bio-power to the fore, and we are able to see glimpses of tools of resistance which, like power:

> are distributed in irregular fashion: the points, knots, or focuses of resistance are spread over time and space…inflaming certain parts of the body, certain moments in life, certain types of behaviour. (Foucault, 1990:96)

By exploring how relationships amongst bodies enable power to flow at local level, I am further able to understand how power can be a productive rather than a repressive entity in the discourses that are produced. I am able to appreciate the distinct technologies of closed disciplinary societies in contrast to those of deterritoralised (or open) control societies. This enables me to acknowledge how power operates in different ways in relation to fixed and stable bodies within disciplinary society and the fluid and mobile bodies of control societies. For example, taking the notion of silence as a mechanism of power, I can see how it is used in exclusionary politics as a tool of repression and the formation of docile bodies. On the other hand, contemporary apparatus also alludes to the notion of

[22] This is the date of the first published English translation. However for the purposes of quotation within the thesis, I have referred to the later 1990 publication.

the power of silence but highlights its potential in a new politics, encouraging an exploration of its ambiguous nature as part of the power dynamic. The supply teacher as a temporary employee within a particular school must ensure that power is used to its best advantage, as it is here, at local level, that we can also see glimpses of the politics of silence and its entanglement within the power/knowledge nexus in operation in the workplace. This entanglement thus brings forth new discourses around for example, trustworthiness, capability or confidentiality, to name but a few.

It is the investigation of fairly 'modest objects and practices', therefore, that offers an alternative to the more 'grandiose ones of earlier instantiation of critical theory' (Brown, 2005:viii). Yet as Carrette (2000) warns, silence shifts and moves and is not stable, postulating that 'being silenced and being silent are two different things' Carrette (2000:33). Silence can indeed be used to exclude or marginalise, and is a powerful strategic tool. Hence Brown (2005) ponders the effect of articulating experiences as fortifying or emancipating in her study of marginalised groups (homosexual/feminist), acknowledging the anxieties of a profoundly weakened or disintegrated subject. Indeed, if I return to Chapter 3 (Methodology) for a moment, I described how, when transcribing interviews, silences, substituted for the spoken word, formed part of the discourse and I had to try to interpret them in a contextual manner. In other words, silence need not be oppressive but may also offer a space for alternative meanings. Consequently, Foucault posits:

> There is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies that underlie and permeate discourse. (Foucault, 1990:27)

Hence silence can be interpreted in many ways and indeed has many meanings. Moreover, silence, as part of power from a Foucauldian viewpoint, is often seen as a force of institutional dominance, a tool for exclusion or avoidance. But conversely, it can be argued that silence can also be used as a tool of resistance. As Foucault postulates:

> Silence itself – the thing one declines to say, or is forbidden to name, the discretion that is required between different speakers – is less the absolute limit of discourse, the other side from which it is separated by a strict

> boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said, with them and in relation to them within over-all strategies. There is no binary division to be made between what one says and what one does not say; we must try to determine the different ways of not saying such things, how those who can and those who cannot speak of them are distributed, which type of discourse is authorised, or which forms of discretion is required in either case. (Foucault, 1990:27)

Foucault further posits that the practice of silence within discourse can act as a shelter for power, but also as a shelter from it. Here, as Pearce et al. (2014) point out, the impossibility of language ever being able to say what we think illustrates the problematic nature of silence in a political and philosophical sense. When specific discourses come together it creates silences as well. But such silences, as Pearce et al. argue, are not absolute, but always harbour a sense of sound within them. Hence, at some point the silence may be broken by the production of new discourse(s) it initiates. Thus, our position within discourse is also able to draw on silence to inform our subjective formation and our identities. How we articulate our experiences (or choose not to), may render us part of an identifiable group or it may alienate us. Consequently, as Foucault suggests, speech and silence are not binaries as each co-exist within the knowledge/power nexus. Indeed, Pearce et al. (2014: 691) postulate that silences are not an inability to speak, as such, but instead, 'work in the spaces where uncomfortable truths live'.

This raises the question of the effect of normativising discourse in relation to experiences. It raises issues of the possible stifling of autonomy or creativity impacting on the sense of freedom. In the case of the supply teacher caught up in both the politics of education and individual schools, there may be assumptions of experience in educational discourse. This highlights the problematics of articulation and the complexities of what counts as experience, meaning that freedom to practise autonomy as a professional educator may not be that simple to put into practice.

Within the workplace it can be seen how management control systems actually allow silence to inform resistance within the local environment. As power shifts and influences discourses, communication invites us to understand 'each other's words ...[as we] dance around our differences' (Pearce et al., 2014:693). This means the

supply teacher, like others, must be aware of the skills required to utilise silence as a tool for 'passive aggression' (Brown, 2005:96), along with those required for non-normative (and the avoidance of confessional) speech in order to be able to propose ideas for possible change. In other words, to have the ability to differentiate the beneficial possibilities in 'keeping one's counsel' as opposed to being rendered subordinate through silence, and to be able to articulate a voice for change through the use of carefully deployed skills.

But for the supply teacher there are two corporations vying for prominence – that of the school and that of the recruitment agency. Power is thus diversified and its origins often hard to trace as control is spread throughout the social network. Thus, the supply teacher has to be aware of complexities of power of both corporations to remain employable. Inevitably, this sometimes gives rise to areas of conflict as can be seen in the issues of timekeeping and work output brought by Ursula (see page 97). Clearly, the school administrator was of the opinion that the school had purchased a commodity in Ursula and hence such a transaction meant that Ursula was not allowed to leave the premises until the 'goods' had reached their expiry time. This was regardless of the fact that permanent teachers and teaching assistants had left the premises and that all marking was up to date. Moreover, Ursula had not been informed by the agency that she was required by the school to stay until a time agreed between the school and the agency. However, Deleuze postulates the corporation motivates (and thus controls) by promoting rivalry. Indeed, Ursula was very much aware that her situation would be compromised should she not comply since 'man is no longer man enclosed but man in debt' (Deleuze, 1992:6), and as a short-term employee her position could easily be filled by another. As Deleuze suggests:

> The family, the school, the army, the factory are no longer the distinct analogical spaces that converge towards an owner-state or private power – but coded figures – deformable and transformable-of a single corporation that now has only stockholders. Deleuze (1992: 6)

Hence Ursula stayed until advised she could leave the premises, the silence reflecting her ability to 'play the game' in the power discourse surrounding timekeeping.

Ethics and the Supply Teacher

To further understand the notion of freedom and resistance, however, we must consider the problematisation of the role of ethics, which both Foucault and Deleuze see as a form of creative activity, not dependent on pre-given rules but to be created through living (Gilson, 2014).

As Foucault shifted from the technologies of domination in his earlier work, to his later works on the self, so too the idea of ethics took shape alongside technologies of the self and the construction of identity which incorporated the notion of ethics and self-constitution (Best and Kellner, 1991). As such, ethics through a Foucauldian lens is about creating ourselves through ethical practices. Whilst from a Deleuzian perspective, ethics is a 'matter of expressing specific aspects of being in the activity of thought' (Gilson, 2014:80). Giving the example of the event of a wound, Gilson goes on to explain that from this perspective the physical wound can generate other effects i.e. a psychic wound, at the same time pointing out that such events may not all be considered to be negative, but that all contribute to a sense of meaning of what is happening to us (Gilson, 2014). Hence, although we see a difference in their ideas of creative activity, both Foucault and Deleuze are united in the belief that our practices of resistance to oppressive structures may be as dangerous as the practices from which we seek freedom. Consequently, ethical practices require power relations to be fluid in order to oppose normalising conditions and maximise freedom. For those working on the margins we must look for spaces and gaps in this fluidity as we grasp the potential to respond to problems and situations. It is here that I suggest that the role of the teaching unions and their relationship to the supply teacher may be reconsidered as the latter seeks to reconstitute notions of professionalism.

Teaching Unions and Relationships of Power

As I conclude this chapter on the shift from the enclosed confines of the workplace to the contemporary notion of deterritorialisation, I draw attention to the role of the teaching unions and whether their power in modern times can counteract moves by the DfE discussed earlier. More comfortable dealing with conflict in the

workplace as a place of enclosure, Deleuze (1992) queries the ineptitude of the unions to deal with the struggles of modern times:

> One of the most important questions will concern the ineptitude of the unions: tied to the whole of their history of struggle against the disciplines or walls of enclosure, will they be able to adapt or will they give way to new forms of resistance against the societies of control? (Deleuze, 1992:7)

Of course, it must be remembered that Deleuze's concerns about trade unions are historically situated in the 1980s in France, rather than in twenty-first-century Britain. However, I would argue that Deleuze's concerns about unions do, in fact, resonate with my own existing perceptions of unions in the UK as the industries of yesteryear give way to technology and the service-based industries of today. That said, however, I would posit that all is not lost with the teaching unions with regard to the discursive positioning of the supply teacher and educational reform. Though perhaps, in agreement with Deleuze, I would suggest that new forms of resistance may be required to tackle contemporary challenges. Recent times, however, have seen teaching unions unite to contest the education policies of the coalition government with strike action in 2011, 2013 and 2014, in relation to proposals by the then Education Secretary (Michael Gove), to bring in performance-related pay, increase workloads and changes to teachers' pensions. Furthermore, the largest teaching union passed a unanimous vote of no confidence in the Secretary for Education in April 2013, leading to his departure in July 2014. Whilst, to date, union action has been concerned with defending the teaching cohort at large, it remains to be seen whether they are able to defend the role of the supply teacher in the face of continual and more complex governmental remodelling of the workforce. However, the union remains a tool to be grasped by the supply teacher.

Summary

This chapter serves to illustrate how the shift from a traditional Foucauldian society of discipline to the overlapping environment of fast-moving social, economic and political influence shapes a society of control, may contribute to the shaping of notions of professionalism in a world where instant communication serves to influence knowledge.

By drawing on the theories and philosophies of both Deleuze and Foucault, I draw attention to how our daily behaviours and thus the basis of relationships within contemporary society and the construction of aspects of professionalism (e.g. identity) are informed by notions of freedom and choice. In particular, attention is drawn to the implementation and growing dependence on new 'machines' in the shift from the docile bodies of Foucauldian theory to the modulated and fluid bodies suggested by Deleuze. At the same time, new politics challenge the oppositional politics of binaries in traditional disciplinary society, causing the consideration of how normative discourse may be influenced by the modulation, rather than the repression of behaviour. Thus the binaries offered by enclosures may appear to be too simplistic in the understanding of the nature of the diffusion and fluidity of power in contemporary settings. Consequently, as power relationships become more dynamic, spaces are offered up for new discourses. So by problematising and opening up areas for further questioning, I am able to consider whether the 'truth' of the problem has shifted in the understanding of the notion of the constitution of (professional) identity.

For the supply teacher, the shift from the mechanisms of disciplinary society may also bring opportunities regarding notions of professionalism, as power constantly shifts between the recruitment agency, the school and the individual. This opens up the potential to find spaces and gaps to assert resistance or to grasp the opportunity to manifest personal agency either within the classroom or within relationships and discourse with the recruitment agency. However, as systems become enmeshed and communication becomes instant, in effect, contemporary mechanisms of surveillance actually offer tighter control (Bogard, 2007). Therefore, associations of tension and contradiction are seen within modulated behaviour, both in the workplace (for example, the use of passwords/codes for access to certain areas both physical and technological) and in the wider social arena.

Yet as power becomes more diffuse I can see how it can become more productive at local levels and not necessarily repressive as we explore the micro-dynamics and complexities whereby contemporary societies of control no longer rely on the antagonisms and binaries of an increasingly bygone era. Referring to Foucault's

warning that freedom lies not in institutions but in practices, then as we go about constituting ourselves through ethical practices we should be aware of all the tools at our disposal, including that of silence, which as discussed earlier, should not be seen as operating in opposition to speech.

Thus, this further exploration of theory draws attention to both the ontological (nature of reality) and political issues (practices and discourses) in a wider contemporary setting, as control mechanisms 'already in the process of substitution for the disciplinary sites of enclosure (and) whose crisis is everywhere proclaimed' (Deleuze, 1992:7) become a given part of today's fast-moving society. Consequently, as the single gaze of the Panopticon of Foucauldian analysis is pushed into the contemporary age, there is a shift in the analysis of how power relations are formed. The factories of yesteryear and the use of discipline to mould a workforce that the time/production system demands, is increasingly becoming replaced by a single corporation that prioritises marketisation. Here workers become 'codes' or 'dividuals' within new enclosures – sites of enclosure without walls – enabling power to become diffuse and spread.

I would argue that as Martinez (2011:201) points out, 'disciplinary techniques exercised through enclosures are not completely a thing of the past' but the general move is towards a society where instant communication and control play a greater part in contemporary mechanisms and techniques of normalisation. This chapter, therefore, offers a wider thinking around how the philosophies and analytical tools of both Foucault and Deleuze can be used in the exploration of professional identity and notions of professionalism of peripheral educators. It is hoped that the examples within this chapter offer an understanding of how the two theorists can be drawn upon, complementarily, to explore the shift from a society of discipline to one of control in contemporary times. Indeed, Deleuze (1992) proclaims it is possible that the older methods may indeed return to the fore but, he warns, with the modifications necessary for contemporary society. Nonetheless, the turbulence surrounding educational policy and its implementation at the time of undertaking research indicated an increasingly shifting ground for supply teachers as noted in their individual stories. At the same time, as control and power become more fluid,

opportunities and possibilities may arise for the supply teacher to attempt to claim back professional ground through the deployment of both active (perhaps with the assistance of teaching unions) and passive (for example, the productive use of silence) responses to the marketing mechanisms of a capitalist society.

Chapter 7: A Voyage of Discovery – Research as a Learning Curve

> *You get the best effort from others not by lighting a fire beneath them, but by building a fire within.* Nelson (2003:xix)

This chapter looks at what has been learned both personally and professionally from the investigation into notions of professionalism and the supply teacher and will highlight what has shifted and changed for me as I undertook the research. As earlier pointed out, there appears to be ongoing interest and, therefore, literature on the professionalism and professional identity of permanent teachers (e.g. Hall and Noyes, 2009; Stickney, 2012) but very little, as noted in the opening chapter, concerning supply teachers. Consequently, there is a dearth of information regarding the effect of market mechanisms in the areas of school and workforce reform, or the effect of the move from local-authority supply pools to commercial recruitment agencies on notions of professionalism amongst supply teachers. Therefore, references to this sector are mainly drawn from government statistics or teaching union surveys (for example, GTC, 2011; NASUWT, 2012).

Through investigating the lived experiences of supply teachers and exploring the perspectives of other educators towards those who are situated on the periphery of mainstream teaching, I hoped to highlight key areas of interest and those of conflict in the aim of getting a better understanding of the power relationships, for example, between recruitment agencies, schools and supply teachers. By opening a discussion around how notions of knowledge, autonomy and agency feed into the professional status of the supply teacher, I wanted to explore how gaps and spaces in discourse and practices can be used to resist or challenge any contradiction to professionalism. Thus, the following questions comprised the basis for areas of investigation:

- How do we construct our professional status as supply teachers?
- How is the professional status of supply teachers constructed by educational policy and perceived by other educators?
- Was there ever a traditional role for supply teachers and if so, has it become marginalised?

- Do supply teachers have fixed identities?

Consequently, from a learning perspective, this chapter looks at the ontological, methodological and political shifts that occurred as I researched the peripheral positioning of supply teachers in relation to the main 'core' of teaching. By seeking to understand mechanisms and discursive practices I hoped to see how power relations may become reconfigured.

Getting to Know Myself Better

It is misguided to think that research in one's own area of employment is an easy task. Since, to investigate 'truths', one has to be as open as possible about one's own perceptions, beliefs and values in order to be critical. Indeed, since such values are formed over a lifetime, they become embedded in the unconscious and thus can become difficult to separate and challenge. Consequently, in order to understand my beliefs and bring them nearer to the fore, it was necessary to understand my world view and explore the theoretical and methodological frameworks that would underpin my research. Of course, as a novice researcher, these were concepts that were previously beyond my usual remit of conscious exploration and ones that to date I had had no reason to query. However, as I began to explore the area of philosophical perspectives, and how my paradigm informed my chosen methodology, the more I learned how my general world view was reflected in the literature and newspapers that I chose to read or the films that I chose to watch. Indeed, my own background, upbringing and heritage fed into how I interpreted events as 'truths'. But challenging my own beliefs and unsettling what I thought I already knew, allowed for a better understanding of what influenced my thinking. This also enabled me to steer away from what Mortimore describes as 'the danger of fooling ourselves, through our selective perception of events' (Mortimore 2000:16). In other words, whilst my worldview could indeed contain discrepancies in my beliefs and values, it was also necessary to accept that my perception of phenomena could differ from that of others. An ontological shift and the challenging of my own taken-for-granted version of reality enabled me to appreciate that experience was more than just what happens, but was also

enmeshed in other, often less visible contributors. Hence the gathering of data from the lived experience of others offered the opportunity to highlight any similarity or dissonance in constructing professional identities and other aspects of professionalism and to understand how I and others make sense of the ever-changing social landscape around us. To further complement this and to challenge my 'comfort zone', I also attended the 2014 NASUWT Annual Supply Teacher Conference in Coventry (perhaps some irony in the location), where I was able to garner further information and insight into the opportunities and threats presented by education policies. Attending this conference offered insight into how the unions were becoming more aware of the impact of the implications of the AWR and the impact on supply teachers, challenging my original belief that the unions saw issues connected to supply teaching as less important than those related to permanent teachers.

Moreover, the opportunity to explore various avenues of philosophy opened up a whole new world of vocabulary as I grappled with hitherto unknown words and 'isms'. Hence, lightbulb moments were just as frequent as power cuts as I agreed with this one, disagreed with that one, and argued in my head, out loud or on paper. Nonetheless, the unsettling of any previously held notions allowed me to continually improve my writing style, whilst exploring different concepts in the search for a sense of 'truthfulness' surrounding notions of professionalism. This also allowed me to ask different questions or indeed rephrase existing questions into more meaningful terms. As a result, some of the original questions stemming from the main research question became reshaped as my ontological perspectives shifted.

Thus, the Nelson quotation at the start of this chapter sums up, rather nicely, the interest which grew as I became even more passionate about my area of research. Hence, as my analytical skills grew, my ability to question my own worldview, and that of others, also began to develop. Indeed, a journey through my own personal growth can be illustrated in the assignments undertaken during the first two years of the course, examples of which are appended to the end of the thesis. Through

these appendices it can be seen how the exploration of those teaching on the margins has fed into the larger area of study which became my thesis.

From a methodological perspective, preparing the research design in order to collect relevant subjective data meant that flexibility rather than an adherence to pre-conceived notions of how things should be done had to be considered. Although a qualitative approach reflected my worldview and methodology, I had to reconsider, for example, some of my original ideas regarding methods as a dimension of the methodology. Thoughts around issues of how data should be collected, and from where (geographically) it should be collected, were troubled as I sought the most appropriate methods or techniques. Thus as I began to build up a base of participants, I had to rethink and discount some methods as perhaps too expensive or inappropriate for the type of data I wanted to collect. Consequently, notions of data collection had shifted from my initial idea of a wide catchment area to that of a smaller, more local one. This meant that although some methods that I had previously considered, for example, focus groups, were appropriate for collecting qualitative data, they were discounted for the purpose of my own research for reasons of confidentiality. In other words, some participants were wary of voicing their own experiences with others working a similar geographical area.

Although I was initially surprised by this reaction, since it jarred with my own perception of gathering information through shared experiences, it alerted me to the fact participants wished to share their stories with me as a researcher for their own reasons and that sharing within a focus group may threaten anonymity. However, concentrating on semi-structured interviews, rather than looking at groups of participants enabled me to look at the data differently, whilst still allowing me to explore the lived experiences of those working on the margins.

Returning to methodology in its broader form, I will draw attention to the Foucauldian framework that underpins my study and how I have been able to revisit Foucauldian theory to further appreciate the complexities of the notion of the subject and the formation of identity that feeds into professionalism. Through the acknowledgement of Deleuzian perspectives and the use of different concepts

and metaphors to describe the continuing shift away from the disciplinary societies of industrial times to control societies of contemporary times, I have learned how market mechanisms (in the form of league tables or PISA ratings) contribute to the shaping of educational policies.

The expansion on theory further allows me to consider and contrast the Foucauldian perspective (i.e. the disciplinary environments of school to factory etc. where each environment is distinct and individual) with the flexibility of production and subjectivity of Deleuzian perspective whereby one is never finished. However, as Lazzarato (2006:183) points out, the techniques of subjection of the control societies do not replace those of the disciplinary society, but are superimposed on them 'to the point that they now constitute the indispensable presupposition of capitalistic accumulation', encouraging me to further understand the shift towards commoditisation of the supply service. Additionally, an awareness of the move away from discipline exercised through confined surveillance to control through broader and more opaque techniques opened further avenues for consideration. Thus, the diagram below illustrates the complementary aspects of Foucauldian and Deleuzian theory and the continuing shift from discipline to modulation, indicating how new forces allow power relations to operate at a distance through relations of control.

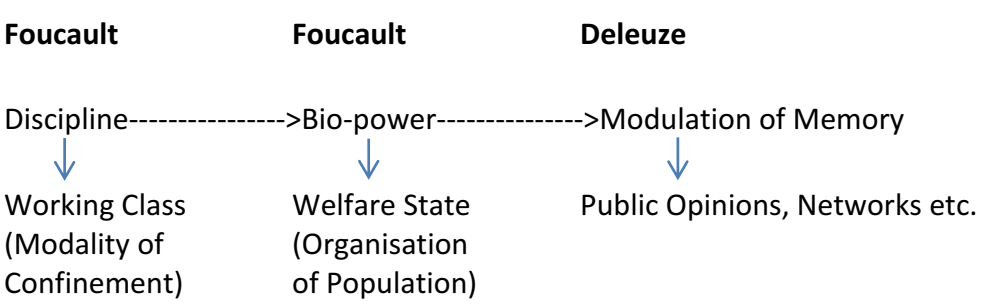

Figure 3: Movement towards Societies of Control (Lazzarato, 2006:186)

It is the acknowledgement of these shifts that provokes thought around the role and perception of power as a fluid entity. Hence, rather than remaining the oppressive entity of disciplinary society, I am able to now acknowledge, dynamic power relationships are able to operate on other dimensions through different political sites, as discussed in the next section.

Learning from the Margins

The main purpose of the thesis was to explore the role of the supply teacher within the broader arena of educators in relation to notions of professionalism. Through researching this role, the importance of the 'margin' as a political site has been highlighted as an important area through which the reconfiguring of power relations can be explored. As political and educational policies frame the discourses around school practice, we need to consider how schools interpret policies and change and how mechanisms employed contribute, through lived experience, to the formation of notions of professionalism within and around the supply teacher.

Thus by looking at power relationships between the core and the periphery, a picture can be built of how 'traditional' power relationships and the inside/outside boundary is becoming blurred as the complex shifting of power opens up potentialities for those working on the margins. Therefore, it can be seen that as a political site, the margin or periphery is no longer just a site of exclusion or oppression but offers potentialities and possibilities of finding spaces to resist, negotiate or reconfigure.

From the research, I have learned how power has become more diverse as supply teachers and individual schools register with more than one recruitment agency, thus forming dynamic relations between the three parties. From a personal perspective, this also troubles any views I had harboured from my own experiences regarding the direct interaction between the school and the supply teacher concerning prospective cover, as marketisation and competition mean that a new business model has been implemented.

In this respect, the complex intertwining of monetary matters – from impact on the school budget to the move away from national pay scales for the remuneration of the supply teacher, to the competition between the agencies for school business – has alerted me to the increasing commodification of the supply teacher. This has highlighted the lack of correlation between experience and pay as market mechanisms become established within this aspect of the education market. However, from a positive point of view, the recruitment agency, as a market

mechanism, also offers the opportunity of freedom of choice (and thus, manifestation of power) for both the supply teacher and the school.

Remaining with the margin as a political site, I can see how norms are created through practices and ultimately legitimised as the truth. From this I can see how each school develops an ethos which forms the basis for the relationship between professionalism of the supply teacher and context of the daily assignment. What has been learned during the research is that the political-economic context that provided the backdrop to the thesis is, perhaps, the most dynamic one in recent years, forcing school leaders to constantly reshape internal strategies in order to deliver the latest curriculum. What I did not know prior to the study was the impact of policy discourse in a wider sense, and the micro-politics surrounding teaching and learning targets and issues of cover. I was surprised to learn the extent to which market mechanisms impacted upon any decisions to employ supply teachers as opposed to internal TAs for cover purposes, and the impact of the commodification of the supply teacher as discussed in the previous paragraph.

Accounts of short-term cover and daily ad-hoc supply assignments, in which status aspects of professionalism appeared to be most affected reinforced my belief that as the supply teacher moves between schools professional identity is reshaped dependent on lived experience. Thus wider perspectives of professionalism become enmeshed in the surrounding discourses and interaction of the supply teacher with other colleagues or students. Whilst I expected to find that, as in my own experiences as a supply teacher, pride in one's professionalism incorporated more than just subject knowledge but also altruistic aspects based on the ethical and moral perspectives of the individual to deliver a 'good' lesson, I was not expecting to find little emphasis attached to CPD. This lack of activity thus troubled my previously held thoughts of the supply teacher being able, quite seamlessly, to cover for the permanent teacher. For me, this revelation raised an alert regarding our positioning in the changing workforce, and the need for any disconnect with CPD to be rectified.

Summary

The corporatisation of education brings continual challenges to the workforce. For the supply teacher working on the periphery, market mechanisms and the competitive practices of recruitment agencies have contributed to further frictions of those brought through ever-increasing policy changes. Such frictions do not always have to be negative but can open up opportunities for positivity or change. This chapter, therefore, has attempted to highlight significant learnings from a professional and personal perspective through drawing on previous chapters. Whilst the research was limited by its size and confinement to a particular part of the North West of England, personal stories and lived experiences of participants across a variety of schools allowed an insight into contemporary discourses relating to supply teaching. Consequently, by looking at shifts and movements, ontologically, methodologically and politically, this chapter has discussed the learning landscape in which the thesis developed, as I tried to address and understand the dynamics of power relations and any further implications for supply teachers. The chapter thus outlines how such shifts have added to my learning in both a personal and professional capacity.

Chapter 8: Concluding the Research

This final chapter of the thesis draws together the insights that I have gained as I set out to understand how notions of professionalism are formed by and around those like me who work on the margins of everyday teaching as supply teachers. Central to the thesis is the importance of the dynamic backdrop of educational policies introduced by the coalition government elected in 2010 and the drivers of accountability and performability through which education is both judged and monitored. Hence it is through the analysis of contemporary discourses concerning supply teachers along with an exploration of theoretical perspectives offered by Foucault and Deleuze that this thesis offers insights into the nuances of professionalism and contributes to the existing literature on supply teachers.

Looking at discursive practices from the margins of teaching enabled me to better explore how the mechanisms of power at work in everyday life affect supply teachers *'*parachuted into schools, often at short notice' (French, 2012:202) and subsequent notions of professional status. Given Foucault's argument that history is discontinuous*,* it is from this site that changes and developments to education can be seen to positively contribute to the discursive positioning of the supply teacher.

Investigating from the margins also enabled me to explore the interrelationship between power and knowledge as the understanding of society being traditionally located in disciplines (schools, church, state) shifts to more fluid notions of movement and control under the guise of freedom and choice*.* Drawing from the thinking of both Foucault and Deleuze provided me with the analytical tools to explore the effects of power/knowledge interactions as multiple and often competing discourses concerning supply teachers were produced both in the classroom and beyond. Similarly, drawing on Deleuze's (1992) thoughts on the paradoxes of freedom and control within contemporary society helped me to understand the subtlety of mechanisms of control on the normalisation of discourses concerning supply teachers.

Above all, it was through listening to the stories of others that I began to appreciate that the interpretation of phenomena draws on an individual's understanding and

own perspectives and is not necessarily reflective of others in similar situations. Consequently, my own perception of knowledge became challenged and conflicted as alternative perceptions of what constituted professionalism were offered and analysed. Expanding my theoretical knowledge thus encouraged me to consider my existing knowledge on the interplay of political factors and education. Indeed, a significant part of the learning curve was in understanding the impact of market mechanisms on the individual school's decision regarding cover staff. By troubling and unsettling my existing knowledge around the constitution of identity I was able to revisit my own epistemological and ontological views and understand how these have changed during the course of data gathering and analysis. In this way, I can better understand the main significances arising from the research.

Looking Back on the Research Process

My journey as a researcher has been an interesting and informative one. By critically reflecting on the various stages of the research process I am able to understand how I have been able to learn from the various challenges and insights gleaned as I began to explore and unpack the data I had gathered. This has contributed to my knowledge both as a researcher and my practice as a supply teacher.

Embracing the opportunity to gather information, semi-structured interviews were chosen as a means of data collection. However, the gap between my expectations and reality, in terms of interview locations and timings, was something that I had to come to terms with, as a degree of flexibility was needed to ensure individuals were able to participate in the study. Further challenges to my planning were realised when I had to forego the idea of a focus group, giving me pause to recognise the importance of anonymity, privacy and the role of ethics in relation to the gathering of sensitive information. That said, however, any anxiety concerned with having enough data quickly diminished as I contemplated how to make sense of sorting what I had already garnered. Alas, data did not automatically fall into neat piles labelled 'to use' or 'not to use', causing a dilemma from my research perspective when it became apparent that I would not need to use absolutely everything.

However, by simultaneously referring to my main research question as I reread the transcripts, I was able to sort what I deemed relevant to my immediate research and thus derive main themes from the data.

For example, aspects of surveillance formed the basis for one of the themes whilst the role of umbrella companies (although offering thought for potential research) did not. Thus, as I gained insight into differing expectations and nuanced notions of identity, I decided that broad themes better encapsulated the various patterns emerging from the data. In this way, for example, 'Observation and Expectation' from within the classroom could be compared or contrasted with 'Surveillance and the Recruitment Agency' beyond the classroom, allowing insight into the intertwining of productivity, efficiency and freedom of choice as drivers of contemporary education and offering glimpses into further related discourses and educational policies.

Trying to understand how others attached meaning to everyday phenomena was not always straightforward. Choosing to transcribe the interviews myself, although time-consuming, meant I was better placed to interpret the data in context and negated the use of judgement calls sometimes used by external transcribers (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). Yet this also meant trying to interpret the messiness of interactions and discourses that did not lend itself to the simplicity of a binary description as I endeavoured to understand the interaction of power and knowledge in a contemporary setting. The traditional notion of the core/periphery description of the discursive positioning of permanent/supply teachers did not offer adequate explanation especially as I listened to experiences of those supply teachers who worked on long-term contracts, or tried to unravel the complexities of differing school interpretations of contemporary educational policies when applied to supply teachers.

A growing awareness of the entanglement of theory and practice enabled me to appreciate the development of theoretical concepts and perspectives as I attempted to unpack the data. For example, the concept of Foucault's traditional Panopticon in relation to the diffuse matrix of power within the classroom

appeared too simplistic when looking at the impact of contemporary surveillance via IT mechanisms. Indeed, whilst a digital footprint is produced as the supply teacher uses the IT system, the individual is also able to draw on a sense of freedom and choice when delivering a lesson. Hence, acknowledging the concept of power as also being creative enables me to draw on a range of perspectives and better understand the complexity of power in everyday situations.

Insights from the Margins

For supply teachers in my sample the lack of 'belonging' to a particular school suggested that reconstituting notions of identity reflective of initial or previous professional training can be problematic. Whilst differences between mainstream teachers and supply teachers with regard to work patterns are acknowledged, it is suggested that the dynamics of current policy and the effect of workforce reform on work opportunities further complicated establishing professional identity for supply teachers in the contemporary landscape. Professional identity thus appears to be a complex and individual construct and the research suggests that rather than being a homogenous community, supply teachers draw on a complex range of diverse discourses dependent on the immediate situation and local context.

So how do supply teachers construct their professional status? Given that the nature of the cover work of supply teachers in the survey was often short term or ad hoc, themes of exclusion and isolation recurred in the data where there were perceptions of alienation and invisibility in being viewed as 'the other' rather than a work colleague. However, the research suggested that understanding the politics and power of silence within discourse enabled supply teachers to inform subject formation and identity in a beneficial manner. In this way individuals were not rendered subordinate by silence but were able to utilise its potential as part of the power dynamic. Hence those interviewed appeared to develop individual coping mechanisms to overcome any perceived inferiority directed at them by permanent staff or pupils.

The study thus highlights how supply teachers are able to find gaps to exercise (subtle) power. From the research it is suggested that within classroom discourses,

the supply teacher may try to avert any notion of child-minding by drawing on his/her own resources to ensure that learning takes place. In an effort to minimise the perceived gap between the supply teacher and the absent permanent teacher, past experience or subject knowledge may be drawn upon by the supply teacher. This resonates, in part, with the discursive strategy of 'fitting in' suggested by Weems (2003:261) since by deploying these tactics the supply teacher is able to demonstrate authority in the classroom whilst being aware of simultaneously being positioned as an outsider. However, my research further suggests that when aided by teaching assistants, supply teachers may subtly reinforce teacher status by directing the pace and content of the lesson. In this way power, and thus agency, can be reclaimed and used productively with the classroom.

It is probably fair to say that despite having shared professional identity with permanent teachers in respect of initial teacher training and qualifications, supply teachers are often overlooked in the light of educational reforms and political rhetoric. It is thus suggested that that when government policy is implemented at local level, a complex and dynamic power relationship between the recruitment agencies and the schools brings tensions to perceptions of supply teacher status by others. Hence it is argued that professional status, when perceived by others, appears to be a moveable feast based on various contributory factors.

Thus whilst at macro-level market mechanisms bring the business goals of the recruitment agencies and the educational targets of the school into conflict, so the research suggests that the supply teacher becomes a commodity to be traded. In addition, whilst supply teachers are employed by agencies, they are also under the supervision and direction of the hiring school. Hence as power shifts, discursive practice enables some groups (e.g. recruitment agencies or schools) to construct knowledge about others (e.g. supply staff) resulting in a confusing picture of the role, status and identity of supply teachers in discourses of cover requirements. The dynamics of power thus move between the recruitment agency as supplier and the school as buyer as each strives to satisfy its own goals. In doing so, the study suggested tensions in three key areas affecting perceptions of supply teachers as

professionals: 1) remuneration, 2) the conflation of supply teacher/cover supervisor roles and 3) CPD accessibility.

The dismantling of the national pay spine has meant that pay is now set by the recruitment agencies and the research suggested that there is no correlation between experience and pay level for the supply teachers in the study. Furthermore, it was suggested that schools were charged the same rate by the recruitment agencies regardless of the level of the experience of the assigned supply teacher. This led to uncertainties around issues of experience or depth of subject knowledge affecting perceptions (both positive and negative) of the supply teacher and professional status.

Workforce reforms mean that schools may now use cover supervisors for short periods of absence. The research highlighted how supply teachers were increasingly offered assignments as cover supervisors rather than supply teachers and pay rates were decreased accordingly. Conflation of educator roles by recruitment agencies and schools illustrated how the power within discursive practices attempted to position supply teachers in situations whereby professional status was downwardly reconstituted by others to suit market mechanisms and drivers of education policy. Thus the shaping of educational policies around school and workforce reform enabled discourses concerning issues of worth to be produced around the deployment of the supply teacher.

Similarly, up-to-date CPD training and subject knowledge may be reflected in perceptions of the professional status of teachers. Yet for supply teachers the conflicting discourses of profitability and accountability mean that power dynamics between recruitment agencies and schools appears to situate this cohort as the 'other' in terms of CPD requirements. Indeed, the research would suggest that the ambiguity between the recruitment agencies and schools concerning the provision of CPD training for supply teachers was a grey area, leading to patchy updating of skills for those in the sample. Whilst the research acknowledged that some recruitment agencies did offer CPD, it tended to be at inconvenient times, short in duration and was a trade-off for work.

CPD accessibility by schools was problematic in other ways and appeared to be connected to budget and costs. Thus after-school CPD was poorly attended by supply teachers. At the same time there appeared to be an expectation by schools (though not a binding requirement) for those on long-term cover to attend in-house training. However, it was unclear how much notice was given and how this was communicated to the supply teacher. The absence of any clear direction within government policy in the above areas with regard to supply teachers appears to have contributed to how professional attributes of this community of teachers are perceived by others, leading to confusion over status by both the recruitment agencies and those working as permanent teachers in schools.

As market mechanisms and profitability continue to shape education, these brought a range of challenges for supply teachers in the sample. The research suggests that the introduction of independent academies and free schools along with the remodelling of the workforce have unsettled any notion of a 'traditional' role for supply teachers, changing employment patterns which had perhaps become taken for granted.

Perhaps the most significant insight on the effect of workforce reform was in respect to the role of cover supervisor. It is suggested that 'competition' in the form of in-house cover supervisors reduced ad hoc opportunities for day-to-day cover assignments for supply teachers. From the schools' perspective the research highlighted how various factors including budget and familiarity with pupils or school policy were instrumental in the decision to cover absences with internal staff. In this respect it is suggested that the in-house cover supervisor has an advantage over the supply teacher for short-term cover assignments. For the supply teachers in the study, decreasing opportunities for short-term work also meant increased competition within the supply teaching cohort for the jobs that were available. Interestingly, as the agencies appeared to offer less work for the supply teachers as qualified teachers, it is suggested that there was an increase in work as cover supervisors for longer assignments albeit at a lower rate of pay.

The research suggests that the professional identity of supply teachers is relative to the current assignment and immediate situation. It may vary dependent on the primary or secondary school ethos. Thus it cannot be described as 'fixed' but rather underpinned by a variety of professional and personal aspects operating in different measures. Whilst this resonates with the argument of Day et al. (2006) and the identity formation of the permanent teacher, my exploration into notions of professionalism has highlighted the different ways in which supply teachers construct their identities. I would thus suggest that there are significant differences due to the multiplicity and immediacy of discourses circulating around the deployment of this cohort of educators.

The supply teachers in the study appeared to enjoy their work as professionals and found assignments, overall, to be both rewarding and challenging. The data suggested that when supplied with the tools of the trade (IT access, high-quality lesson plans) the need to negotiate professional identity within the classroom was reduced. Discursive positioning of the individual, however, varied dependent on the school, highlighting how identity could be a site of struggle. Thus for supply teachers identity as a qualified professional was not automatic but was constituted or de-constituted dependent on the interactions of power and knowledge mechanisms and specific discourses. In order to reinforce a positive cultural representation and professional status the supply teachers in the study drew from a composite of workplace factors, previous experience and an ethical or moral stance to perform professional duties. At the same time, it appeared that as individuals were at different stages of their professional life-cycles each held different perceptions of self-identity as a teacher. Thus facets of identity drawn from the personal and professional were dynamic and did not follow a fixed pattern. However, it was suggested that high personal expectations and a high degree of self-reliance underpinned all notions of identity.

Suggestions Arising from the Research

The research indicates that overall the supply teachers in the study are able to maintain and reconstruct nuanced notions of professionalism in times of turbulence

and change. However, at the same time, the study draws attention to the continuing restructuring of the education system and workforce reform. Hence by offering glimpses of areas of policy (for example the role of the recruitment agency as employer, or issues of PRP) which were outside the remit of the thesis, the study has also indicated possibilities for future investigations.

Whilst the study did not set out to seek answers but to offer critical insights into areas of conflict or concern, it is by drawing attention to significant issues of remuneration, CPD and deployment arising from the study that the fragility surrounding status and professionalism is highlighted. Thus, from the research it is suggested that although repercussions are seen to affect short-term assignments, this could lead to repercussions for mid- to long-term work as budgetary matters take prominence in how schools cover absences.

Yet, despite the fast-paced environment of contemporary education, I suggest that it is possible for supply teachers to use the discursive gap positively in order to remain competitive and reclaim any perceived lost ground in these areas. That is not to undermine any challenges but rather to suggest that supply teachers (including myself) cultivate an awareness of the avenues available, including the use of teaching unions as viable and powerful tools of change and mechanisms of bargaining power in an environment increasingly motivated by business models.

One of the main significances arising from the research was the importance of status and identity to supply teachers as being seen as competent and qualified educators. Consequently, I would argue that if skill base is allowed to lapse then status too will diminish. As power and knowledge are intrinsically linked, and thus dynamic, there is opportunity for the supply teacher to make a conscious effort to seek out any CPD training after school or offered by recruitment agencies. Although this may be unpaid there is an obvious benefit in the opportunity to update skills and enhance the individual's negotiating power. In particular, with regard to the acceptance of teaching/cover-supervisor roles, this further reinforces the supply teacher's negotiating power and could help minimise any discursive gap regarding either role or remuneration.

At the outset of the study I outlined how my own journey as a supply teacher linked me to my area of research. Hence it is by looking at the perceptions of others as professionals that the journey of exploration has enabled me to revisit my own practice in a different light and recognise spaces and gaps offering opportunities to reconstitute aspects of my own notions of professionalism. Through this exploration of perceptions and notions of professionalism I am thus optimistic that it is possible for supply teachers to embrace change in a positive manner. I proffer that the ability to offer a flexible skill-set through up-to-date training would enable those of us who work as supply teachers to negotiate discursive positioning and help reclaim our rightful positions as qualified educators.

Drawing attention to the role of supply teachers as qualified and experienced professionals helps to raise the profile of this group as contributors to teaching and learning. In this way, the critical insights into notions of professionalism and supply teachers offered by the thesis provide a valuable contribution to the existing literature on what remains an under-researched cohort of the teaching community.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Examples of Media Headlines

Example 1

'Schools spending £1.3bn per year on supply teachers as staff shortage intensifies'[23]

Example 2

'Teaching ban for Mr Mortarboard: Supply teacher who tried to prove authority was "menacing"'[24]

Example 3

'Supply teachers are failing our children'[25]

Example 4

'Supply teacher suspended for giving pupil ride home'[26]

Example 5

'Benefits cheat supply teacher banned from the classroom after £6,000 council tax and housing benefit scam'[27]

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Appendix B: Information Sheet for Participants

INFORMATION SHEET

Study Title: How is the professionalism of supply teachers constructed in contemporary times?

You have been asked to take part in this study as your experience of having been, or worked with, a supply teacher will assist my research. This valuable source of data will enable me to identify the professional characteristics required of supply teachers and how perceptions of professionalism are formed.

If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. However, you will be free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

If you agree to take part in the study you will be invited to take part in an interview in the coming months. Interviews will last for approximately 45 minutes and will cover questions relating to the status and identity of supply teachers based on your own experience and interactions. Interviews will be face-to-face where possible. You may also wish to contact me at any time with information which you feel is valuable.

All information collected during the research will be confidential. All participants will be given pseudonyms and schools, where mentioned, will be anonymised when information is transcribed. Similarly, direct quotes used in the final publication of my thesis will also be anonymised.

All data collected will be stored on computer password protected and analysed to identify themes and issues. Any paper records will be kept in a locked filing cabinet.

Thank you for reading this information sheet

Appendix C: Consent Form for Participants in the Research

Consent Form

Researcher: Tavia Facchin – Manchester Metropolitan University

I have read the research information sheet and I am aware of the purpose of this research study. I am willing to be part of this study and have been given the researcher's contact details if I need any further information.

My signature confirms that I have decided to participate in the study having read and understood the information given and had an opportunity to ask questions.

I……..give my permission for my data to be used as part of this study and understand that I can withdraw at any time. I will inform the researcher should I not want my data to be used.

Signature…….Date……

Direct Quotes

I……..give my permission for direct quotes (using a pseudonym) gathered from my interviews to be used as part of this study.

Signature…….Date……

I have explained the nature of the research to the above participant and in my opinion the participant is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent to take part in this study.

Researcher …….. Date ……

Appendix D: Email from DfE – Teacher Analysis Unit (12th January 2016)

Dear Ms Facchin

Thank you for your enquiry. I am afraid that there is no national register of supply teachers. Supply teachers do not have to be on a central register. (I am not sure whether there is an agreed definition of the term supply teacher). We do however have figures regarding the number of qualified teachers who are not recorded in service at the following link:

https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2014

Table 11 of the additional tables shows the information available. I am afraid that there is no measure of how many of the teachers recorded are available for work or in unrecorded teaching work already, (this would include working as a supply teacher via a private agency). Some teachers are available for supply teaching work aged over 60 – the upper limit for recording in the table.

In addition we don't have a database of recruitment agencies as these are private companies and not linked to this Department. You may find if you search the internet that they have a national association or some such body that may be able to advise you.

I regret that I cannot be more helpful.

Yours sincerely

Richard Howe

Teacher Analysis Unit, ESEDD

Appendix E: Participants in the Research

The participants who made up the sample are illustrated in the list below:

Designation/Role	Gender	Age Group	Pseudonym
Supply	F	20+	Lucy
Supply	F	50+	Ursula
Supply	F	40+	Anna
Supply	M	50+	Joe
Supply	M	50+	George
Supply	M	50+	Martin
Supply	M	20+	Raf
Supply	M	50+	William
Head Teacher	F	30+	Georgina
Permanent	F	20+	Cathy
Permanent (HOD)	F	40+	Alice
Permanent	M	20+	Jonathan

Appendix F: Interview with Martin – Supply Teacher 18th January 2013

TF: Good morning. Firstly, Martin could you tell me why you chose to become a supply teacher.

Martin: Ok well I became a supply teacher back in October 2009 because I'd reached actual retirement age for teachers. I was 60 in July of that year so I'd given up full timework. I thought that that was it – I didn't want to work anymore. I'd had some illness and so I thought I probably didn't want to work anymore but I began to feel very quickly within a few weeks. I began to feel quite bored and the catalyst was walking past a local primary school – St Anne's primary school when the children were playing out and I looked – I was taking the dog for a walk – and I looked at the children playing out and I thought, 'I can't do this for the rest of my life. I'm still a young person.' So I want to do something, and I still like, I still enjoy, teaching.

TF: What was your final position on retirement?

Martin: I'd worked in a primary school, in an inner city primary school in Menton. I had been the Senco; I was a member of the senior management team so I was on quite a good salary. I didn't hold a ...I hadn't been a Head or a Deputy Head but I was called a Key Stage Co-ordinator, Key Stage Manager.

TF: So managerial experience then?

Martin: Yes I sat on the senior management team.

TF: How long had you been teaching altogether. Up to supply?

Martin: Only for…Oh up to supply? Oh only for about 20 years because I came in as a mature entrant to the profession and had a previous career been in retail management.

TF: So you've worked 23 years now?

Martin: Yep.

TF: Brilliant. So you've signed with an agency haven't you?

Martin: Yes.

TF: You don't work for the LEA's at all?

Martin: No. I…Well, what happened was…I actually knew the chap that ran the Menton Supply desk. Menton Supply desk used to be part of Menton's – Menton education department's section. They used to get supply teachers for schools. Then in the...I think the late 1990s when local authorities probably a bit earlier than that actually probably 96 /97 when local authorities were looking to outsource some of their functions. And one of the functions they were outsourcing was the provision of supply teachers to primary schools and the chap that now runs it, a chap called John Smith, he was a head teacher in Menton and his colleague – and they took over, kind of bought, or took it over from the local authority. I don't know what the actual arrangements were – they took over the running of it.

TF: So it's just primary? Or do they do primary and secondary?

Martin: No, they do primary, they do secondary, they provide TA's as well.

TF: Right so they've taken over the whole of it? Oh right. OK. So relating to a recent assignment could you talk me through your day as a supply teacher?

Martin: Yep. It can vary. It sometimes…I'm very fortunate in terms of supply because a lot of the work I have is pre-booked so I do get a lot of my worked pre-booked. Sometimes the week before, but often, as happened on Monday morning, I can get a phone call as late as quarter to nine and you know…asking me if I'm available. And if I am, because I'm basically retired, I usually am (laughs) so I can just get dressed and go off and do an assignment. But generally speaking I would normally expect to get a call a bit earlier than that. Like any teacher I like to get in and prepare myself. You know I like to be ready and I don't like to arrive after the children. I like to be there, have my work ready find out what it is that I'm required to do and that can vary enormously. A lot of schools these days will expect a supply teacher to follow a teacher's planning. Having said that, that planning isn't always available for me to see so it's often sometimes a very garbled message…sometimes from a TA to say 'oh well…they were doing this on Friday, or they were doing this

yesterday, or in literacy or they were doing something else in numeracy'. And then I have to have a look and see what I've got that will fit in with that...what kind of work will fit in with that.

TF: I'm not familiar with primary schools as such. Do you always work with a TA?

Martin: No. No not at all.

TF: I understand.

Martin: There often are TAs around. It depends very much on the school. The bigger the school the more TAs there are likely to be.

TF: OK.

Martin: There are teaching assistants and there are support assistants so a support assistant will very often be allocated to a particular child or particular group of children and they will usually be there because of a particular special education needs reason in that particular class. So those would be SSA...support assistants. TAs who will be different grades they go from grade on to I think grade 4…higher level TAs in larger schools they would usually be allocated to group work so that though they may be initially in the class, when children come to do particular work such as numeracy or literacy, they may well withdraw a group of children to work with them. Whatever the focus is for the lesson and the children are continuing with that programme so I wouldn't be expected to plan for them.

TF: Right so you go straight in as the teacher working with the TA who knows the ins and outs of what's going on. Do you find it fairly well organised in that aspect?

Martin: Sometimes!

TF: Sometimes? Can you give me an example of how you draw on your professionalism as a teacher?

Martin: Well a good example would be the assignment I did earlier on in the week where I arrived at the school, a school I'm very familiar with and familiar with the way their day runs. They actually, in this particular school, the first lesson of the

morning is a numeracy lesson followed by a break and then the literacy lesson. The teacher's planning wasn't on the desk, there wasn't planning there. However, the numeracy lesson plan called for me to follow a particular programme that wasn't there. So the TA didn't know what it was what the teacher had been doing. I approached – because it's a two form entry school – I asked the teacher in the other class, who was less than helpful. So I was then left to sort out, bear in mind, I had arrived quite literally on the minute because I had got the call very late. So I was having to do this while the children are there, which is not in my opinion very professional. It puts me in a very difficult position. So I've got the children reading while I find the materials that I'm going to need to do that particular lesson. I did find it. Between myself and the TA we sort of collectively managed to find all of the materials. I felt that that's not the way I want to get ready for a lesson and that meant that I was going into that lesson only partially prepared because I am having to read the lesson notes, familiarise myself with the programme and deliver a lesson at the same time. Which is not easy!

TF: Do you feel there are a lot of duties attached to being a supply teacher in a primary school?

Martin: Oh yes! We're there to fill in and most schools these days would expect if it happens to be that teacher's day for a playground duty then I would do that.

TF: I want you to consider how you think you are received as a supply teacher. I know you said you go to four schools so I suppose you're pretty familiar to them and vice versa. What is that reception like when you turn up as a supply teacher? Do you think that you are you seen as part of the primary school family or as an outsider coming in?

Martin: It's a really good question that, Tavia, because when I very first started doing supply I got a very mixed reception. I can think of for example a school where I wasn't actually very welcome in the staff room.

TF: That sounds interesting, please tell me about it.

Martin: It's really…overall I think that most schools are glad to see you because you're a body in front of a class. I'm not entirely convinced, and I don't know whether I'm jumping the gun here, I'm not entirely convinced that we're always seen as a professional teacher in front of that class. I think we're sometimes seen as *a* body.

TF: Could you explain that please?

Martin: I'm a qualified teacher, I have a degree in education, you know, I've got an honours degree in education, I've got 20 years of teaching experience, I've got management experience in education, I do know what I'm doing! Yet I do feel sometimes that we're kind of not seen as being a proper teacher if I can use that expression. You know we're seen as...(tails off)

TF: How does that manifest itself?

Martin: I think from some colleagues. I think it's fair to say that people that know me know that I do a good job. If I can, perhaps, illustrate that with a little example. Take the issue of marking – I know, because I've been on the other side of the fence – that there are supply teachers that come into school that do not mark to my standard and to the way that I would expect work to be marked. They'll give a tick at the end of a page. If I'm marking say for example a piece of literacy I will read what the child has written, I always like to put perhaps a couple of comments, positive comments, and maybe something that I would like the child to look at, to improve. Schools have a term for it…they'll sometimes call it tickled pink, or green for growth. So two tickled pinks means I'm really pleased with this and this, I'd like you to have a look at this and next time see if you can…perhaps you could have used more capital letters at the beginning of sentences, or perhaps you'd like to extend your use of punctuation, think about speech marks, little guidelines. Some supply teachers don't do that. One school that I go into has now provided for every classroom a stamp that they ask supply teachers to go through and mark at the end of every session to show that it had been marked by a supply teacher. Now I just assumed that I had to use that stamp as well but I was informed recently 'Oh no

that's for those supply teachers that don't mark'. So I'm actually marking and stamping as well! (laughs)

TF: Well you're of a higher grade! But that's quite nice. That's an accolade really from the school to you.

Martin: Well I feel though…I feel that as a professional I should be marking. As a teacher I should. It's part of my job! Others should be as well.

TF: When you go into a staffroom do you ever have any staffroom concerns 'where do I sit, which cup I use?'

Martin: Oh yes! Even in the few schools now that I go to … there is one school now that I go into to that I can't go into the staff room. There was an issue of confidentiality. There was a discussion that had happened in the staffroom last year to do with a child that was repeated outside of the school by somebody who had been in the staffroom. Not me I hasten to add. And as a result they've asked anybody who's visiting the school not to use their staffroom. They provide a separate room for visitors and that includes supply teachers and I feel quite insulted by that. I go into that school because…my daughter's the head! Which makes it even more embarrassing!

TF: Surely the leaks come from within?

Martin: But I mean things like that I know as a professional teacher – I know not to discuss outside anything I hear and believe you me, you go into staffrooms and you do hear things. You hear some incredibly unprofessional things. You hear members of the permanent staff talking about members of the management team in quite derogatory terms. You know you think…that's not the kind of conversation that should be taking place with someone like myself in there. But I sit there and I don't take part I that conversation, obviously.

TF: Do you feel isolated?

Martin: There is kind of a staffroom etiquette I think and if you're a visitor I wouldn't assume that just because I'm there and I've been in for a few days, that I should get involved in some conversations.

TF: Moving to the classroom and notions of identity. How receptive are the children to you when you walk into that classroom? Children are inquisitive anyway but are you accepted as a teacher that's come to teach today?

Martin: Well this is going to sound really, really big-headed now! I always get a lovely reception. Because I go into schools, a small number of schools regularly, children know me and there's one that I go into, where I actually turned up one morning, went into the playground to collect them and when the children saw me they all started cheering! I realise now it's just the chocolate bars (laughs). I always do a raffle at the end of every day, no matter what class I'm taking I always do a raffle and I have two chocolate bars and I do it. It's very sort of…it's contrived because I always try to make sure I draw out a boy and a girl so I cheat a little bit (laughs). At the end of the day, throughout the day, I'm rewarding children for good listening, for good answers to questions, you know.

TF: So positive reinforcement?

Martin: I like positive things, I don't like negative things, I don't like to be shouting at children. I like to reward for things that have been done well. So I will give them a raffle ticket for the opportunity to win one of my two bars of chocolate. Good stuff, Tavia. It's Cadbury's dairy milk! It's good chocolate!

TF: (Laughs) Not with nuts in? In case one of them is allergic?

Martin: No, no nuts! It was quite interesting. Somebody said 'well are you not concerned about, you know, healthy eating in schools?' and I said 'well yes, I'm completely supportive of healthy eating in schools but you know what, it's a treat'. It's a small bar of Cadbury's dairy milk chocolate and of all the things you can give children, chocolates probably far better than giving them those horrible Haribo things. Chocolate is actually is one of those substances that doesn't linger on the teeth apparently. It's washed away much more easily!

TF: (Laughs) Well, you've researched this!

Martin: (Laughs) yes, yes! One bar of chocolate's not going to hurt.

TF: You earlier gave an example of working with the TA in the classroom. Was that interaction typical of collaborative working?

Martin: Usually. But you occasionally come across the odd one who is perhaps. TA's can be quite possessive. Some of them know what they are doing. I have to say with fairness that most of the TAs that I've worked with on supply, they've just been so glad to see me in the classroom.

TF: OK. Let's return to working for an agency. Recent moves to PRP and the move to academies has affected pay for permanent teachers. As a supply teacher working for an agency how is pay rate constructed?

Martin: My salary was in excess of £34,000 per year at the time of retirement. Menton Supply desk had agreed to pay me £155 per day which is pretty close to, or was at that time, pretty close to the daily rate for a full-time teacher on the top of the salary. I also had an interview with another agency. They said that the best they could pay me was £120 and out of that they would deduct £6 per day to process my pay and that would be paid monthly in arrears. Menton were paying me at the end of each week so basically what the others were offering me was £114 a day, but they said they would also pay me any out-of-pocket travel expenses. So for example they would pay a small amount mileage allowance if I used my car. Needless to say I didn't sign up with that particular agency (laughs) and I just worked for Menton.

TF: I see. That appears to be quite a difference.

Martin: However, last year the agency sent us all out a letter saying that in view of the current economic climate, problems with obtaining work, it may become necessary to ask us to take a cut in our daily rate. So they were looking at reducing our daily rate to…one figure that was mentioned was £140 a day. Now I have to say that I personally have not been asked to take that cut. The schools that I go into usually request me and they know what my rate is obviously. And they request me.

However, I know that when I've spoken to some other supply teachers that some of them have agreed to take that cut and have been paid £140 a day.

TF: And how often do you work?

Martin: Sometimes I can be asked to work for just a half a day which I personally am quite prepared to do occasionally. So a morning, for example, could be three hours – 9 am to 12 noon. But now it does vary from school to school and, of course, you don't leave then because you've obviously got marking after that. Anyway, you're paid for three hours and the afternoon is two hours.

TF: So how do you feel about that?

Martin: I'm quite happy sometimes just to do a half day. It suits me. If I can help it I don't work every day. That's the point of being retired.

TF: How many times, if ever, given what you have just told me about pay cuts have you had a pay rise from the agency?

Martin: I've now been doing supply work for nearly four years and in that time I've not had a pay rise. I'm still working for the same daily rate that I was working for in 2009. At a time when we are seeing an increase, for example, in inflation I'm certainly seeing an increase in things like my fuel bills, OK I'm retired – I don't have a mortgage anymore, but I go to the supermarket to buy my food. At one time the supply desks that were run by local authorities paid the same rate as the national pay spine, and OK, the national pay spine has gone as such, but the agencies do not pay well in general.

TF: Do you think that this affects feelings of identity and professionalism for supply teachers?

Martin: I know that some of the people I encounter on the supply circuit do it because they've…they are often women who have had children, they want to get back into the workforce and so they do supply work. Sometime they are NQTs who are finding it difficult to get their first post and so they do supply work. Why should they not be paid the same rate as other teachers when they are doing the same

job? In fact, in my opinion, I actually think in some ways the job is actually more difficult. On the few occasions when I've done an extended assignment, I have a personal philosophy that if a school needs me, wants me, and I'm doing an assignment and the teacher is not able to come back – I don't like the children to be messed about so I will stay in the school and although I don't work, I don't particularly want to work every day, but if a head says to me 'look Mr Smith, whatever isn't coming back for three weeks, will you stay and cover?' then yes I will I will stay and do the assignment. When I've done that it's a lot easier in some ways because I can go away and I can plan my own work. I can look at the overall planning and I can think...yep...I know what I'm going to do there, I can do lesson plans until they come out of my ears. No I'm quite happy to do them! But to go in and pick up for one day from what the teacher's been doing the day before that's a very difficult thing to do and I think supply teachers do a really difficult job. Now why should that not be rewarded in the same way as any other professional, be it a teacher, legal, medical?

TF: So how do you think this affects our status then as professional educators?

Martin: I think it devalues us as professionals, talking to other teachers – I don't discuss pay with other teachers – but talking to other (permanent) teachers, they think we're paid exactly the same rate as them! Their perception is that we get the same!

TF: Do you think that this that is widely held?

Martin: I'm not even sure if some head teachers know because obviously when the agencies charge a school a fee for us they obviously have to pay. Most of these agencies are businesses and they want to make a profit. They also have to cover their own costs, their administrative costs. They've got to process our pay and all the rest of it.

TF: So to sum up. Given the lower pay that we've discussed and the other issues how do you retain notions of professionalism as a teacher?

Martin: For me personally I'm so happy that I am still able to do a little bit of supply work. I'm still able to do what I enjoy doing and I love it when I go into a class and I stand in front of the class. I don't want to sound sanctimonious (laughing) but I think for me personally, because I do a day here, a day there, I just think…well that's another…(Martin appears to be quite reflective here). I don't get £155 in my hand. I will pick up about £120 and that goes into my holiday fund or it goes towards paying for my car! I actually think I'm quite a good teacher but…I don't think I'm keeping pace. However, I know I'm getting out of touch and I know my timings are not as good as they used to be. And the way things are going now in education I think you've really got to be on the ball. And I've said that I'll probably make this…I might make this my last year of doing supply teaching because I will never…I don't want ever, ever, ever, to get to that stage where I'm not as good at the job as other people.

TF: Excellent. That's absolutely brilliant and I shall end the interview here. Wonderful. Thank you very much.

End of transcript.

Appendix G: Interview with Georgina – Head Teacher 8th August 2013

TF: Thank you for participating in this research into supply teachers and the construction of professionalism in contemporary times. As a head teacher I hope that you will be able to offer insight from your angle. So first…how do you manage absences and cover in your primary school?

Georgina: I manage it in a variety of ways, so that the structure in my school is that I do have a HLTA and I do have three teaching assistants qualified at TA3 that I do use, within the school, for some PPA cover. So generally PPA cover is covered internally by teaching assistants. However, for absence, in general I don't tend to use teaching assistants because I don't like to change what teachers have planned for and a lot of the teaching assistants are allocated with children for intervention purposes. So for absence I tend to use supply teachers and that's done through an agency called Top Teach which is recognised within the authority but I don't have any general contracts with people. Supply teachers come via an agency.

TF: OK so how often do you use supply teachers, on average, per term?

Georgina: I'd say we do use them fairly frequently because not only do I use them for absence but also if teachers within the school are going on courses or if I need my management team out for doing things, or cover for performance management, we use supply teachers then. So my school budget is probably about £1.4 million and I'd probably say that about at least £16K is dedicated to supply teachers on an annual basis but it could go between say 16K and 20K so and now with the addition of Pupil Premium, that's probably changed because it's given a bit more flexibility. Because there are some supply teachers that I now have on a more long-term basis that I've been really happy with within the school and they've been able to provide skills that my school didn't have. Therefore, I have a lady who is a supply teacher but because she's secondary-trained, she's been able to support the school with L6 reading which is something we didn't actually have, so she's employed for the whole year on – for every morning. So that comes out of the Pupil Premium to support free-school-meals children.

TF: Does she have a contract for a year or a fixed period?

Georgina: No, no. Well, yes and no, in that it's based on a verbal agreement. But we have agreed that we will do our own contracts on a termly basis where we'll look at it. Because she obviously has some things that she wants to do, she wants that flexibility as well.

TF: So it's a mutual thing?

Georgina: It's a mutual agreement. So we have signed a contract but it's a more informal contract.

TF: So does she get paid in the holidays?

Georgina: No.

TF: I understand. So she's still on supply?

Georgina: Yes, and I've seen my budget increase actually.

TF: OK. So going back to the more general use of supply teachers – you just said you've put aside £16K up to 20K. Is that for last year or is that over the past few years? Has your usage and frequency changed over the last few years?

Georgina: So far I would probably say it's been about the same – £16 – 20K that's been put aside. But, erm, obviously you are kind of predicting in advance and there have been times where I've had to cover a bit more long-term absence within the school or if I've had to cover maternity. So that's kind of upped the cost of supply cover, but it's not something that you can always consider that's going to happen. So depending on what's going on with the staffing within the school…I guess that it probably will change. As you are quite aware, school budgets are becoming less, if you like. We are getting pots of money but they are being given different titles and they are expected to be used in particular ways and I've seen my budget increase actually but that's only because of the increase in pupil number. Actually over time, I can see that all schools will ultimately have a reduction in their budget and so, therefore, they are going to be looking at ways of cutting expenditure. I guess one

way would be to reduce supply teachers within the school – particularly if they've got HLTAs and teaching assistants within the school. The problem is now though, if you look currently at what the government are saying – on Michael Gove's agenda – is that he would like to perhaps, get rid of teaching assistants within the school which may pose a new problem for teachers within the school. But like I said, as I mentioned in the previous question, I use supply teachers for PPA because I feel that supply offers some consistency for the children within the school and that the teaching assistants actually work with those classes so it's like nothing has changed for the children. Which, in a school like mine, I feel is quite important, when I have a lot of behavioural difficulties or there are quite a lot of child protection issues. So the relationship is very important. However, as a head, like I've said, if it's an issue of a teacher going on a course, or if it's to do with absence, my preference is for a supply teacher because I do not want to disrupt timetables that are already in existence within the school.

TF: Right excellent. You said earlier that you do use HLTAs and cover supervisors. TAs for shorter term and you have mentioned about the relationship between the children and the TA. What other advantages or disadvantages are there with this?

Georgina: There are a lot of disadvantages actually and to be honest, I don't probably use my HLTA like some other head teachers would.

TF: In what way?

Georgina: In some schools the HLTA is used permanently across the whole week to cover. In my school where they'd kind of go from class to class and do the PPA cover. In my school the HLTA probably does three afternoons of cover and the rest of the time is spent as a TA or she is used doing intervention. And again, it's looking at her strengths, which is numeracy, so I might use her for numeracy intervention within the school. The disadvantages are, even though yes they do have that ability to have that relationship with the child, they do know some of the circumstances at home and actually, to be fair, in my school, I have a brilliant set of teaching assistants but at the end of the day, they are not a teacher. And so they, you know, their subject knowledge or the way of actually providing information to a child

about something in particular, isn't probably going to be the same way as somebody who has trained to be a teacher would go about it. And so that can be disadvantageous. So to be honest, we are very careful at my school about which subjects we give to teaching assistants to teach within a class. So for example, they will never be asked to teach a core subject like literacy or numeracy. And they won't be asked to teach PE because of the legal and health and safety aspect. But there some other subjects, for example in Design Technology, where one of the TAs is very good at cooking and she is very at home doing things like that with the children. So, we're quite particular in what we give a teaching assistant to teach, whereas, if we were expecting a supply teacher to come in for the day we would expect them to teach everything.

TF: Given that expectation what particular attributes contributing to professionalism do you look for in a supply teacher?

Georgina: Erm, I've had good and bad experiences of supply teachers and what I like is that the supply agency that I work with, they always ask for opinions about the supply teacher that I've had and we always give our verbal opinion. On the other hand, as well, for the supply teacher's benefit, we always ask them to write in our school book about their experience, and about how they felt about their experience has been in our school. Because we do have a policy where that when a supply teacher comes into our school, that they are made to feel very welcome. They are either shown around the school by myself, by the school business manager or by the deputy. They're shown where the staffroom is, they're shown where the toilets are, obviously, and somebody will talk through with them, the behaviour system we have in the school and how the school day, how the routine actually runs. And they will know what to do if they have a problem child, if you like, in their class. And I always explain to the supply teacher that I want it to be a good experience for the children but that I want it to be a good experience for them. You know, we need supply teachers and we want them to come and work in our school. You know, we don't want them to be saying 'oh I don't want to go back to that school'. So we want them to feel that we would work in partnership with them. So in terms of that, when a supply teacher who isn't going to arrive on the

last minute – particularly when we've booked a supply teacher in advance – I'm looking for a supply teacher who does try to implement the policies that we have set in place, particularly when we have shared that with them. I look for a supply teacher that marks the children's work and again if they try and work in line with the school's policy. Particularly if we've shown them that and they're not just quick to get out of the door at quarter past three, and they leave the classroom as they found it, in order for the teacher when they arrive the next day. And on the whole, you know most supply teachers do that and when they have done we've always said 'look we would like to have this person again' - particularly if they've had a good relationship with the child.

TF: That was going to be my next question actually! So you measure their professionalism on how they act after they have been given information from you about the school?

Georgina: Definitely, definitely!

TF: Then you'll get feedback from the agency etc.

Georgina: And I would say that my staff are very welcoming. You know I always joke when a supply teacher comes in and I always say 'look in this school teachers don't have a particular mug, or a particular chair! You sit where you want.' Because I know in some schools that *does* happen and I know that a lot my teachers make an effort to make somebody very welcome.

TF: That's good!

Georgina: And I would expect that from the supply teacher that they would, therefore, be friendly, themselves. Unfortunately, I have had, on some occasions, someone quite abrupt and quite rude. Particularly when they've not realised that I'm the head teacher and so, that's when you know my feedback has been, you know, more negative and I've said that perhaps this hasn't been the right school for them to come to.

TF: Well it's got to be truthful, hasn't it? So are you aware of an individual supply teacher's qualifications, either before they come or do you ask them when they're there?

Georgina: Actually, no. The only thing that they come with – I guess because we use a supply agency – we are expecting that they have people who at least have the teaching qualification or they've been to university to actually do that. And the only thing we end up with at the school is the CRB [Criminal Records Bureau] document that they bring with them.

TF: Right. Moving on to skills and training – what expectations do you have of supply teachers that come to your school, for example in areas such as IT knowledge and teaching?

Georgina: I probably wouldn't have the same expectation as a secondary school head and something like ICT [information and communications technology], I think, I accept that with how quickly things are changing that it is probably a subject that I wouldn't expect a supply teacher to teach. And for me as long they can deliver a good lesson when I walk past, and I do walk around the school quite a lot, and I see that the children are getting on with their work and they're engaged and they're covering subjects like literacy and numeracy. It's not for me when a supply teacher comes in, to tell them how to deliver it. So if they don't want to use ICT then as long they meeting the objective with the children they can do it in a way that's comfortable for them.

TF: I'm going to ask you about CPD and supply teachers now. You mentioned that you have a long-term supply teacher in your school. Is she invited on in-house trainings? Is she expected to go on them?

Georgina: If she comes on them, the agreement has been with her, that if she wants to come to the INSET days and she *has* been to our INSET days, that she gets paid but it has been her choice whether she has wanted to come. And she *has*, but even though she's a retired secondary teacher, I think she's quite enjoyed being in a primary. It's been a quite new experience for her and I think she's quite enjoyed

some of the training that we have had and yes, she has been a part of that. When we've had maternity covers who have obviously been supply teachers, there's been an expectation for them to come to staff meetings and to come to INSETs when they've been employed with us for that period of time, because obviously they need to try and implement what we are saying even though they are a supply teacher. Because it's a maternity cover it's looked at slightly differently but there isn't an expectation that they would be there but certainly with the people that I've had more long term, they've been invited.

TF: Brilliant. In your opinion given the changes in the workforce with the introduction of teaching assistants and HLTAs, do you think the role of the supply teacher has changed over the years? Do you think that there was ever a traditional role for the supply teacher?

Georgina: I think, I'll be really honest, that it completely depends on the school and it completely depends on how the head teacher views that. I think there have been a lot of fundamental changes even with the introduction of the new pay policy where everything is down to the head teacher about even deciding whether a teacher can get incremental pay.

TF: From September is that?

Georgina: From September. And within that there was a section on supply teachers where as a head teacher and governing body you have to decide on how much you are willing to pay a supply teacher. So it could actually say within your policy that you could only pay them up to M3, even though they might be a UPS teacher. In your school you would only pay up to M3 and that's what you would say to the supply agency or that's the kind of agreement you might have. And I think that's something quite new because you know, in the past with supply agencies, we've just been…I don't know whether they're UPS or M6. We're not given that information, we're just told to pay a certain amount when we've had the supply teacher.

TF: Does that change with the supply teacher or does the agency charge you the same rate?

Georgina: The supply agency charges us the same rate whoever they send.

TF: OK that's interesting. Because there are NQT supply teachers and there are some who might be like your lady who's retired but had gone through to UPS, but you're charged the same?

Georgina: Yes we are just charged a flat rate, no matter who is sent.

TF: Right, well that's interesting. Returning to pay and having just mentioned how the new performance-related pay will affect employment of supply teachers. Do you have an awareness of supply teachers' pay by any of the agencies?

Georgina: No.

TF: OK. Have you had any experience of a supply teacher being sent out to you as a cover supervisor?

Georgina: No, because I guess that within a primary school that wouldn't actually happen because we say we want a supply teacher for the day because they would be covering the class. I'm presuming that they would be paid as a teacher. We've never had a supply teacher coming in complaining about what the agreement has been with the agency.

TF: Well that's good to hear. Your comments have been really insightful and you've told me quite a lot there. We've come to the end of the interview so thank you so much for taking part in the research.

End of transcript.

Appendix H: Assignment on Intervention

Title – Include me on the register please! – Electronic registration and supply teachers

Tavia Facchin (2012)

Abstract

Supply teachers remain an important part of the workforce**.** The following research and intervention proposal evolved from the awareness of the growing reliance by permanent staff on the use of IT for tasks ranging from general registration of pupils electronically to a dependence on electronic usage for instant messaging. It exemplifies the discourses surrounding the supply teacher including the invisible discourse which bars this professional from accessing the instruments needed to do the task and in which power for this teacher is elusive. Data is gained using mixed methods in a case study school (known as 'Midtown') along with a wider sample from supply teachers working in the same geographical area. Using both Foucault's theories, including the Panopticon metaphor (1977), and the views of Lacan and Zizek the study attempts to get a grasp of the identity of the supply teacher from both the supply perspective and that of the onlooker and its effect on professionalism and agency within the classroom.

The study concludes by acknowledging that although the proposed intervention for IT access during registration for supply teachers was not successful, it provided a rupture in the acknowledged and accepted routine of arranging supply cover at 'Midtown'. Moreover the research highlights the fact that the lack of access to the electronic register raises further issues in relation to the technical ability of supply staff regarding updating and keeping current knowledge in a fast-paced technical environment and suggests that more could be done to include supply teachers in in-house training and CPD.

Introduction

The following research was undertaken as part of a Doctor of Education study into the role of the supply teacher and the professional positioning of such as an educator, as viewed by both the individual and by educational establishments. Research into teaching over the past twenty years or so has skimmed over the contribution made by this cohort of professionals and it has been noted that there is very little published research on the subject (Chen, 2003; Barlin and Hallgarten 2002; Schilling 1991) in comparison to that available on, for example, the identification and professionalism of permanently employed educators. Personal interest and continuing experience generated a concern in researching the perceptions and misconceptions surrounding this important yet often undervalued aspect of teaching. It is imperative that, in order to maintain a strong professional identity, the supply teacher must take ownership of the classroom, be confident of self-identity and actively strive to be a positive part of the power and knowledge dynamic that functions within the classroom and wider school. This cannot be achieved without the supply teacher being recognised as a fully qualified professional and given status equal to that of its permanent colleagues. Yet to what extent can identity be constructed as a professional teacher when working on a temporary assignment given the constraints of the situation imposed by the establishment regarding the positioning of the temporary teacher? (Hutchings et al. 2006; Shilling, 1991). The self-identity of the supply teacher as a professional, and the identity of the supply teachers as seen by others, including new colleagues, head teachers and the pupils in the classroom is subject to conflict and compromise (Macdonald and Kirk, 1996) and the image of a supply teacher is one of isolation from school colleagues (Berry 2009; Hastings, 2009; Chen, 2003).

As a supply teacher the researcher becomes part of the research itself. Thus self-identity and social identity of the researcher are ever evolving and dependent on the particular role and its interpretation at any given time. As such there is awareness on the part of the researcher of her interpretation and her own values. A framework of the psychoanalytical theories, as posited by Lacan who deemed that there is always a gap between who we think we are and how others view us and

how there is an ‘image’ of which we should be wary, along with later works by Zizek are drawn upon to illustrate this gap and aim to give further understanding of identity when attempting to bring about a rupture to the accepted routine of teaching within a temporary context. Zizek (1992) for example, believes that we have a fantasy space where we articulate our desires and which can only be accessed by dreaming. Everyday reality as the ‘symbolic’ is fragile and can be destroyed by an intrusion of the ‘real’. He illustrates this with the story of the Black House – a fragile fantasy destroyed by when entered i.e. intruded upon by the ‘real’. (Zizek, 1992:17). The study will also allude to the relationship between knowledge and power and the impact of discourse. Foucault, a leading contributor to this genre theorised that the interaction of the knowledge and power were instrumental in both enabling and disciplining the individual. Since Foucault posits that discourse is a product of those who have power and means of communication, then the supply teacher can only operate within such discourse and consequently sees him/herself through the lens proffered by those with power and control until a counter-discourse challenges this.

The intervention proposal evolved from the awareness of the growing reliance by permanent staff on the use of IT for tasks ranging from general registration of pupils electronically to a dependence on electronic usage for instant messaging to form teachers from senior staff regarding urgent daily notices and changes to timetables etc. This ‘upgrade’ to instant access enhanced the aura of professionalism and contrasted with the lack of access to such resources for supply (substitute) teachers who were reliant on manual registers, and ‘runners’ to complete the registration process. Consequently, the objective of the intervention was to make electronic registration available to temporary staff, including myself. To understand how this could be achieved the research consisted of a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods in order to further understand the constraints and expectations of both the supply teacher and the institution.

The Supply Teacher

Over the last two decades there has been a rise in the number of teachers registered for supply work. In 2004, it was estimated that there was over 40,000 supply teachers active in England, working on average 2.9 days per week in six different schools over a year (Hutchings et al., 2006), up from 19,000 in 2001 (Barlin and Hallgarten, 2002). The latest available figures show that of the 578,755 registered teachers in the UK, approximately 9% (52,087) are supply teachers (GTC, 2011). Whilst it was estimated that by 2014 up to 50% of teachers may not be on permanent full-time contracts (Barlin and Hallgarten, 2002) it must be noted that these individuals may not all be undertaking supply work and to a point may be reflective of changing work practices throughout many of the different professions. However, recent figures do point to a change in the make-up of teaching profession in both the primary and secondary sectors of education and a move to fixed contracts rather than permanent tenure.

Whilst the motivations for becoming a temporary teacher are varied and were traditionally due to domestic commitments ranging from dependent children or wishing to undertake occasional work after retiring (Ritchie, 2010; Shilling, 1991), there has also been a growth in newly qualified teachers (NQTs) using this method as an entry route to teaching. Latest data shows that this cohort has increased to 14% from 11% in 2010 (GTC, 2011). Although this entry route was noted by Shilling (1991) it was originally as a way of gaining experience. The indication by the GTC indicates that the increase in NQTs registering as supply teachers is more probably due to the inability to secure permanent work given the economic climate in Britain at the current time (Evans, 2011; Barker, 2008). Whatever the reason for becoming a temporary teacher however, it does not diminish the fact that professionalism and ability to undertake the various tasks demanded of a teacher remains. The urgent and transient nature of the supply role is 'usually a highly demanding form of labour and supply teachers can be seen as an especially disadvantaged section of the profession' (Shilling, 1991). This sentiment continues to be echoed over the years as the employment prospects of supply teachers are threatened by both pay discrepancies from employment via private agencies (Hutchings et al., 2006) and

more worryingly through being devalued through the use of, and confusion with, teaching assistants who are being employed as a cheaper alternative to the fully qualified supply teacher (Barker, 2010). However, neither of these aspects forms part of this research and both merit individual attention themselves.

Research Design

Research took place between September and December 2011. Due to the general low volume of supply work at the beginning of Autumn Term, the research was designed so that data was collected from supply colleagues who secured daily employment from September 2011 to get wider insight into views and experiences of supply staff. Questionnaires were distributed to nine supply teachers to be completed during their next booking. Questionnaires were distributed to four supply staff and collected during my own daily supply bookings at 'Midtown' over the period October to November 2011. Further interviews were held with two of the respondent supply staff at the school due to a change in their supply status during the research period in November 2011. Structured interviews were held with key members of the school staff (Cover Liaison Supervisor, Register/Absence Officer IT technician) between October and December 2011. Available documentation relevant to supply teachers (information pack etc.) was also acknowledged.

A total of thirteen questionnaires were handed out or sent electronically to supply staff during September to November 2011 with eleven being returned for analysis. Eight of out eleven of the respondents were females aged over forty, the remainder consisting of one male over forty and two males aged between twenty and twenty-nine – both having NQT status. In addition two of the 'external' supply teachers had based their responses on their last employment which was in primary rather than secondary education for which they had initially trained. The age and gender of the majority is reflective of the statistics quoted by Hutchings et al (2006) which found that 71 per cent of supply teachers are women and that 50 per cent of supply teachers are aged over 50 compared to 26 per cent of classroom teachers.

Findings

All respondents were asked how their own notion of professionalism was affected when using a manual method of registration.

When analysed as a whole, six respondents felt that they 'always or often 'did not feel part of the school community whilst five only occasionally felt like this. Only two felt that they were always viewed as a 'proper' teacher with the six feeling that the students perception of them was 'always or often' a lower perception of their status as a teacher as they did not have the accepted tools (i.e. access to the school IT system). The others only felt this occasionally. The majority of respondents felt that the manual register for morning registration or form time affected their classroom management, found it too time-consuming and that it did not give them enough time to deal with other issues in the classroom. All respondents found that their ability to check notices, whether students had a genuine reason for lateness or to add rewards or sanctions to individual pupil records was compromised when using a manual register. In addition, four of the respondents had issues on the validity of the names some students identified themselves by at registration. All respondents using a manual register then had to send a 'runner' to the office at the end of the lesson, being mindful that some 'volunteers' may choose to do this as an excuse to be late for the next lesson whilst putting the blame on the supply teacher.

When the four responses from 'Midtown' were analysed separately, a more positive scenario emerged (which may possibly be attributed to the school's reputation for being viewed as a school with good management structure and well-disciplined and polite students). Here, respondents only 'occasionally' felt not to be a part of the community with two out of four feeling more accepted as a 'proper' teacher. Three respondents felt that classroom management was only 'occasionally' compromised through lack of access to an electronic register. Two respondents also thought that names given by students would never be alibis and two were of the opinion that the manual register was not too time-consuming. It was imperative that the register was submitted during AM registration so that it could be used for cross checking for truancy before the automatic truancy call log begins (an

automatic call to home/guardian every fifteen minutes until picked up). The impact of a late register is the knock-on effect of contacting HOD's, cross referencing etc. The onus was on the supply teacher to ensure that the (manual) register was submitted before 9.00 am. The overall findings illustrate the difficulty found when reliant on a manual register. Despite the fact that the experience was generally more positive at 'Midtown', all respondents felt compromised through not being able to access notices electronically. Consequently, this impacts on the individual's notion of professionalism and self-identity within the institution and relates to the lack of a sense of belonging (Chen 2003).

Example 1 – An extract from my own diary at the school illustrates the frenetic pace during morning registration with a hitherto unknown registration group.

"Where's Miss?"

"I don't know but can you please sit down whilst I do the register?"

"Do you want me to do it Miss?"

"No, but thanks anyway. This doesn't look like a full class, where's everyone?"

"Oh I think it's the science exam today. Or maths, not sure"

(Whilst I had no reason not to believe the Y10 student, I had no way of checking the whereabouts of, or the reason for, the lack of students in the room).

"Can you mark Kieran in Miss? He's just at the office, I've seen him and he's asked me to ask Miss"

"No, I'm sorry I can't do that – As I'm doing Miss's register today I need for him to be here"

(2 minutes before 9am and still no Kieran).

The bell goes and there's a mad scramble for the door as apparently the period one teacher gives out detentions for lateness quite readily.

"I'll take the register to reception for you Miss, I've got English down that corridor" says a boy as he waits for me to put the final touches to the manual headcount and handwritten scribbled sheet that passes for my register.

Clearly, I was neither familiar with the disrupted timetable for the day, or with the students. The discourse within the classroom, although positive illustrated a tilt in the knowledge power base between teacher and student. This first impression of the supply to the students (and vice versa) is the most important and sets the stage for the remainder of the day. The discourse between myself and the students flowed easily regardless of the natural inquiry of the whereabouts of the regular member of staff, and it demonstrated that the knowledge and power was often transferred to the student. However, there was mutual acceptance and respect throughout. 'All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has effects, and in that sense at least, becomes true' (Foucault 1977). Nonetheless, it is at this initial stage of the knowledge power balance that the supply teacher can find themselves at a disadvantage and thus develop an erosion of professionality and status (Maylor et al 2006, Chen, 2002).

Example 2 – "When you cannot access electronically you cannot reward or put comments on CMIS" (respondent using manual register in 'Midtown').

The above example shows further example of alienation. The inability to access the rewards system puts the supply teacher at a disadvantage with the pupil – trust is challenged, the attempt to build effective teacher pupil relationship may be curtailed (Berry, 2009; Watson, 2009; Maylor et al. 2006). It exemplifies the discourses surrounding the temporary teacher – the invisible discourse which disallows the professional from accessing the instruments needed to do the task and in which power for the temporary teacher is elusive. The social positions created by such discourses empower select individuals and their ideas to the exclusion of others (Ball, 2008). Consequently, the domination of the institution and the power it yields (Foucault, 1977) impacts upon the individual's strive for professional identity within the classroom. The parallel teacher-pupil discourse

centred on the inaccessibility to the system positions the permanent teacher as superior to the supply teacher who is thus of a lower professional status.

Classroom Management

Supply teachers are expected to maintain discipline and allow work to progress (Spratt, 1999) however, once the manual register has been submitted then it is usual that the supply teacher does not have access to the names of the pupils he or she is teaching. This causes untold problems when trying to ascertain whether a student is playing up just for the benefit of the new teacher or whether it is a normal pattern of behaviour for that student. Similarly, should a child have a specific need for the toilet during a lesson, the supply cannot check on the system whether the student has a bonafide problem or just wants out of the classroom for ten minutes (Maylor et al., 2006). Such personal notes are now kept on the school's central IT system, as discussed in Example 2.

Example 3 – "Find there is a lot more information available using CMIS rather than SIMS. Found the extra information very useful especially on long-term supply" (respondent using electronic register)

Example 4 – "Tedious twice a day in large classes where I don't know the kids. Doing the dinner register on top of this takes up valuable teaching time." (Respondent using manual register in primary school)

Such notes are now kept on the school's central IT system and are easily accessible to permanent staff. So despite, this not being of major concern for the cohort of supply teachers in the case study school, it remained, nonetheless, an issue and can be illustrated when a temporary booking becomes longer term and the pupils are no longer transient but who need continuity of record keeping and assessment. This following extract is from an unstructured interview carried out with one of the two supply staff who gained supply work of six weeks or more during the course of the research and after the initial questionnaire and who both were given laptops.

"The worst thing is that everyone is sent via e-mails. Messages and things. I don't get to know what's happening unless someone tells me in the staff room…I can't access referrals either, so if I'm busy I might forget. I've asked about full access but I'm down as supply so no. I've asked the (IT) technicians too, for access" (Supply Teacher at 'Midtown').

Whilst, earlier studies into ICT usage in the 1990's found that the dominant style of computing among teachers was that of avoidance (Evans-Andris, 1995, cited in Mumtaz,2000) and a resistance to organisational change (Robertson et al., 1996, cited in Mumtaz,2000) this was countered by a study by Cox et al. (1999) of 44 male and 28 female computer-using teachers (mean age 42 years) that as regular users they were more confident and that it gave more power and prestige to the teacher in the school.

Professional Identity of Supply Teachers

The increase demand for supply teachers illustrated in the early 2000s may well have decreased insecurity for temporary staff during that period (Barlin, 2002), however, the situation has since changed due to changes in educational policy and the cost conscious policies adopted by many schools (Ball, 2008). Reform technologies in education have introduced a new set of identities, roles and positions, affecting the interactions between those with power and knowledge and those who are managed by them. Such moves, according to Ball have marginalised previous roles, loyalties and subjectivities, whilst the associated new language and practices have 'changed what is important valuable and necessary' (2008:43). This may contribute to the gap envisaged in the mind-set of some permanent teachers of their temporary colleagues (Ritchie, 2003) and add to the exclusion experienced by the majority of supply teachers who operate as marginal accessories to the micro-politics of a school (Chen, 2003; Shilling, 1991; Clifton and Rambaran, 1987). Professional identity should invoke a feeling of being part of a larger group (Woodward, 2003) and the ability to identify with others who have similar qualifications, experience and skill sets, yet academic research into supply teachers usually finds this not to be the case. Indeed, 'the rise of supply teaching has not

been associated with a rise in the status of supply teaching' (Barlin and Hallgarten, 2002) and the status of such needs to be improved. Identity is reconstructed over the different political and educational discourses (Maylor et al., 2006) and will certainly vary from time to time dependent on the stage of the lifecycle. Nonetheless must be consistent with the professional role to avoid dissonance with self-identity (Macdonald and Kirk, 1996). Language has an important part to play – the doctor or nurse in daily or short-term employment are referred to as the 'locum doctor' and 'bank nurse', whilst the adjectives preceding the word teacher ranges from supply, substitute or temporary. Whilst it is necessary for the short-term teacher to have an identity, the adjectives 'substitute' and 'temporary' imply that the actual professional status of that qualified teaching individual is transient. This may also contribute to the gap in the professional identity as seen by supply teachers themselves and that constructed by others within education who appear to attribute a lower status to the supply teacher. Yet, the supply teacher must adhere to the same rules and regulations as the permanent teacher often without access to up-to-date training. Whilst not subject to appraisals as such, the supply teacher is constantly monitored from a distance. Foucault describes this using Bentham's Panopticon as a metaphor, describing how the individual is scrutinised from a central tower and watched at all times. Thus the supply teacher is induced, by the power advantage of others, to conform to, and accept the regulations of the social order (Foucault, 1977) and therefore present themselves as a manifest of the social order (Zizek, 2006). In addition, many supply teachers are being offered (and taking up) roles of cover supervisor and thus diminishing professional status and denting their identity even further (Barker, 2010).

Discourses Within the Institution

The research found that with regard to supply teachers, that whilst it was practice to offer a printed handbook, outlining policies and map of the school, it was not practice to offer a printed paper register to daily supply teachers. This policy had evolved through a combination of factors which included the sheer urgency of situation when supply staff was needed, and the time constraints of the office staff should paper registers need to be printed. Regardless, the failings of the current

system had been noticed by one member of the administrative team who stated when referring to the handwritten lists registers written by supply staff:

“I don’t always receive them. The supply may give them to a student or bring but the student doesn’t always get here! Or the pupil loses it. Also supply aren’t always informed about the register. Especially those new to supply or teaching”.

The administrative team had also been short staffed for some months and it appeared that the task of printing registers was not assigned to any particular person. Hence although it was seen as an additional task and burdensome, this member of staff was constrained by the parameters of the administrative discourse.

Separate semi-structured interviews took place with both the Supply Administrator and the lead IT technician regarding introducing IT access for supply teachers. Whilst the former was appreciative of the constraints of a manual system of registration to both supply staff and administrative staff and was receptive to the theoretical model, one of the constraints to the proposed intervention was found to be due to the evolution of IT in schools and the move away from the classroom based PC to the individual teacher with (portable) laptop. Although, each teaching room in the school’s new building was indeed equipped with IT accessibility, this was based on the individual having a laptop. Whilst the school held a small number of spare laptops (less than five) these were often out on loan due to breakdowns and consequently the opportunity for supply teachers to access them was not a priority. Budgetary costs of increasing the number of spare laptops was also an issue. Appropriating laptops to longer term supply staff again was dependent on both request from the Head of Department and availability. The restriction to all areas of the IT system was considered to be a security issue by the IT technicians, rather than being acknowledged as a hindrance to those wishing to undertake their duties in an efficient and professional manner and IT access in general was seen as not necessary. The knowledge/power dynamic here appeared to favour the IT technicians and their domain with the belief that to issue a laptop and a temporary password to a daily supply teacher too problematic in its set up. This finding

correlates with the Korean study of Baek et al., (2008) which although concerned with permanent staff found that obstacles preventing teachers from using IT in the classroom included inadequate infrastructure and weak technical support.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The intervention was dependent on obtaining information from supply teachers working in 'Midtown' during the research period. It was acknowledged that the cohort would be restricted to a small number of supply staff on site and that the researcher would be part of this staff. Hence in order to get meaningful information from qualitative data regarding manual registration and supply teachers in general, the study included respondents who worked in the same geographical region on daily supply. Whilst the small size of the school cohort meant that quantitative analysis was not the most appropriate tool, it was used when analysing the respondents as a whole, since it was useful for some comparisons. Using mixed methods, results could be looked at as a whole but also compared with the cohort in school. Frustrations were generally lower in the school based supply respondents but the study highlighted the fact that views that supply teachers hold are contradictory and paradoxical (Chen 2002; Hastings, 2009) in that the snapshot of the supply teachers may well change depending on the work environment.

The researcher was subject to a number of discourses with differing knowledge/power dynamics. The study found that there was a genuine unawareness by the school administrative staff of the frustrations caused by impact of lack of access to electronic registration to supply staff as this discourse had never been given voice previously. The lack of IT accessibility in this particular school was seen by supply teachers, most of whom were regular and familiar to both staff and students to be offset by the ethos of the school, the good working environment and the ability to be able to 'teach' rather than 'babysit' the classes. Importantly, the research indicated that the laptop has become a significant part of the professional toolkit of the permanent teacher and is a visible signifier of the notion of professionalism and of up-to-date knowledge. Its usage and associated technical language marks out the knowers from the non-knowers. The need for a more

sophisticated system was acknowledged to ensure better communication and a more cohesive system with supply staff in the classroom. Unfortunately, obtaining the inclusion of laptops for supply teachers raised significant challenges that could not be met by the school. The study highlighted questions for the administrator to address with regard to both communication within the team and of the difficulties of messaging supply staff regarding pupils and meetings and thus the research caused a rupture in the accepted routine of covering teacher absences.

The lack of access to the electronic register raises further issue regarding the technical ability of supply staff of updating and keeping current knowledge in a fast-paced technical environment. If technical innovation is an outcome and impetus to economic success (Schussler et al., 2007) then the supply teacher is at a disadvantage if unable to acquire the experience needed to carry out the task and skills will become depleted and out of date. The distancing of supply staff and the general use of ICT becomes a complex one with material factors such as insufficient access to computers affecting non-material factors such as knowledge and confidence (Baek et al., 2008).

The lack of inclusion in CPD and training for supply staff (Barlin 2002; Chen 2002; Spratt, 1991) becomes more of an issue. The panopticon (Foucault, 1977) constantly scrutinises the supply teacher whilst at the same time ensuring this cohort of professionals remains stagnant in the social order. Although it is acknowledged that failure of the proposed intervention was in part due to the move from PC's in classrooms to personal laptops for permanent staff, it would be useful if the school could include supply staff in CPD and training alongside permanent staff. This would enable expertise to be gained through experience (Clift, 1989) and allow the supply teacher to move along the continuum of knowledge (Schussler et al., 2007). Such a strategy would be mutually beneficial.

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Appendix I: Assignment on Methodology and Methods

Title – A Consideration of Research Design

Tavia Facchin (2012)

Abstract

Using my recent Action Research intervention as a platform, this essay aims to identify and explore some of the issues surrounding practitioner research methodology. By referring to other research work, I wish to illustrate how ontological and epistemological views influence research design. I aim to contextually illustrate how my own professional standpoint and ethical views relate to paradigm and chosen methodology, and demonstrate how institutional constraints may affect issues being investigated. The essay aims to highlight the importance of critical awareness and the ability to recognise and use reflection to reframe questions in order to collect data relevant to specific concerns. Consequently, I have investigated areas relating to the problematic status of 'cross identities' of the professional (Stronach, 2009), and the importance of ensuring that research design is robust enough to enter the gaps discovered. In addition, I hope to demonstrate how the thread of ethics is intertwined and influences the fabric of all research.

Introduction and Background

It is critical that, as researchers in the educational field, we are able to access data which will allow us to generate meaningful information. Ideally, in order to generate such information we should be able to cast aside our own existing perceptions and biases and trust that the information gathered from colleagues is honest, truthful and representative of the existing cultures of the institution. Hence, the aim to collect data in this method is strongly associated with the 'Action Research Model' with me as practitioner undertaking the role of individual, participative or collaborative researcher. Regardless of the role chosen, Action Research itself is not unproblematic in its undertaking and this essay draws on a workplace intervention recently undertaken by myself as a Supply Teacher, as a

participator in the project, and prompted by personal interest and experience of the role played by this additional workforce of educators.

The intervention, which evolved from my experiences as a Business Studies/I.T teacher working on a supply basis, aimed to address the problem caused by the lack of accessibility to electronic means of registration of pupils during form period/morning registration. Reflecting on the problem and the different ways I had sought to improve my own situation within the classroom I decided to try to investigate the frustrations I envisaged were being caused to other temporary staff in a similar situation, and try to find a solution to the problem which would benefit the institution, myself and colleagues. As the registration of school pupils is a legal requirement, there is also a knock-on effect to the school administration team, should the morning register be incomplete or contain false names, and it is the job of the teacher either permanent or temporary to ensure that correct information is submitted in a timely manner either electronically or by manual methods. The other aim of the intervention was to assess the impact of the prevailing situation on the notions of professionalism held by supply teachers and to identify to what extent the constraints imposed by the establishment had on the construction of identity as a professional (Hutchings et al, 2006; Shilling, 1991). In other words, apart from the practical frustrations, how much did the lack of professional symbol (laptop) and its associations with accessibility to 'the system' , and identified as being a tool of 'real' teachers, affect the perceived professional status and self-identity of we professionals who are employed as supply teachers?

Thus, as a research practitioner I was both related to, and immersed in, the situation I was investigating. Whilst trying to enable the desired outcome of improvement by the access to IT facilities, I had the opportunity to reflect and re-examine my own classroom practice. It was also necessary to acknowledge that my own perspectives and beliefs were brought into self-question during the course of the research. Hence, the role of Action Researcher/Supply Teacher proffered both benefits and drawbacks and the following essay aims to address and challenge some of the main concerns raised during the intervention, which gathered data and

evidence through interviews and a short questionnaire, by stepping back and drawing on theory to provide a contextual analysis of the issues encountered.

Designing the Research and Acknowledging Paradigm Differences

I understand that human nature is complex and a reductionist view of the world as prescribed by positivism does not take into account the idiosyncrasies which form part of the social and cultural world experienced by individuals. Where scientific experiments can perhaps claim a value-free controlled atmosphere, giving rise to descriptive sets of results, the same cannot be said of educational research which operates in a dynamic arena, therefore the positivist assumption that the world is 'objective' and its tendency to slot social aspects into neat categories cannot do justice to situations which contain so many variables. 'The public world is positivist the private world is interpretive '(Bassey, 1999:44).

Hence, the methodology now accepted in action research is qualitative, although as a new researcher I am always conscious of the increasing demands of the current government (and increasingly individual institutions) with its burgeoning bureaucracy and accountability agendas, to deliver quantitative results in education in order to 'justify' data (e.g. League Tables). Our own epistemology as researchers and individuals affects how we gather and communicate knowledge (Opie, 2004) and an interweaving of philosophies and realities contribute to how we structure our research in the workplace. Described as the 'Project Gaze' by Schostak (2002), I was in the situation of finding my bearings as the project formed mentally and had to grasp how my own multiple self-elected worlds incorporating political, ethical and symbolic views which collectively form a 'gaze', would engage when in dialogue with the gaze of others. Positivism and its scientific-empirical methodologies ignore the subjectivism of the participants, whilst Realist ontology accepts the existence of a causal mechanism and its epistemology accepts that knowledge is socially and historically relative. Hence, this concurred with my outlook.

However, relationships between the paradigm, which gives the cultural, social and theoretical framework to the research, the project and the methods are complex, and give rise to something more than just choosing a subject and then applying

methods (Schostak, 2002). Indeed in my own institution, I feared that, ultimately, if asked about findings, the discussion would centre on 'how many?' rather than more substantive issues. Consequently, throughout my qualitative data gathering, constant reflective questions of 'is this research robust enough?' and 'how do I sort this (qualitative) data into something meaningful?, provided a backdrop to my research, whilst acknowledging that education research is contextually located and therefore changes its form depending on time and location (Yates, 2004) and by noting that 'the outcome of all research is uncertain' (Hammersley, 2007: 438).

In order to construct useful research my chosen methodology had to be flexible enough to be able to accommodate such changes and utilise the correct tools necessary to obtain valid and useful data. This may mean, for example, favouring an interview over a questionnaire or vice versa dependent on the circumstances of the time. In other words, it means that methods and methodology must be appropriate to the information sought, for example, an interview may render more in-depth information than that arising from data written into a free-text box on a questionnaire. Although the intention for both methods was the same – that the participant should be able to voice their opinion using their own vocabulary – one method may render more information than the other.

The issues surrounding wanting (or feeling a necessity) to 'prove' something are recognised by Opie (2004:10), who stresses the difficulty of 'proving' anything in educational research, whilst acknowledging the phenomenon associated with newcomers to research. Furthermore, Kemmis (2010) posits that action researchers should move away from justifying their work as 'research' based on the empirical-analytical sciences and should concentrate on 'the contribution of their action to history, not so much to theory' (Kemmis, 2010:425), basing his beliefs on the eternal need for change and for exploring new ways of thinking and doing for the benefit of mankind.

Indeed, Bassey (1999:41) describes successful action research as a something that instigates a change in the workplace, making the participants wiser through knowing and benefitting from this, but quite often something not shared with the

wider world. Consequently, both of these authors saw action research as important and beneficial from a social platform encouraging new ways of doing and thinking for the better. Whilst I sought to justify both of my above questions via research design and qualitative methodology in my action research I have critically discussed the problematics of obtaining information in more detail further on.

Critical Realism as a Paradigm for the Intervention

Taking a pragmatic and anti-positivist approach to my intervention meant that I could remain open-minded when dealing with data and use methodologies which were most appropriate to the type research I was undertaking. It enabled me to explore the difference between what we know and reality, whereas, positivism deems that there is a reality out there awaiting the correct tools to uncover it. Leaning towards a critical realist standpoint, which addressed the complexities of the real world, became the more favourable paradigm for my research. This allowed me to consider that actions are caused (or not) by seen or unseen mechanisms along with the recognition that the experiences of social actors are paramount as opposed to being overlooked in quantitative methods.

Referring to Bhaskar (1998) and the construction of the stratified world and its three overlapping layers of empirical, actual and real, enabled me to see that the everyday world surrounding us, may not be a straightforward representation, thus differentiating it from the positivist viewpoint of science which only operates on what is seen, before forging empirical links based on pattern. Houston's (2010) 'black box' theory allows me access to identify how interventions work in particular circumstances, which in my case related to supply teachers and registration methods, and try to reach the real layer, where any causal tendencies may be. Furthermore, it acknowledges distortions through social conditions and the belief that social structures can be enabling or restraining.

Gathering data to use quantitively, such as gender which indicates that the researcher is aware of the fact that gender may influence the phenomenon being studied should be collected regardless of paradigm (Yates, 2004). However, the danger here is to go off track and try to incorporate such data in a study which is,

for example, too small to incorporate it meaningfully or to try to make relevance out of data which is irrelevant to that particular piece of research. But should the information have a bearing on the study, it is interesting to note that although Bhaskar is in favour of using statistical information in Critical Theory, Scott (2005) another leading author on the subject disagrees with this view.

Understanding External Professionalism

Central to data collection is the notion of 'truth' and the ability to gather and communicate our findings. Epistemological assumptions are intrinsically part of all of us and we are all shaped by our experiences of day-today life. How I feel, how I am treated all affect my interpretation of the world and the discourses surrounding it all shape my views on research and how I undertake it. (Schostak, 2002; Mortimore, 2000). Thus, as practitioners we bring with us certain biases, morals and ethics which, as researchers, we must be aware of when we encounter other people's perspectives to ensure that these do not 'taint' our research and steer away from the danger of fooling ourselves 'through our selective perception of events' (Mortimore, 2000:16). The relationship between epistemology and its relationship with methodology, procedures, knowledge and truth is a 'contentious area for researchers' (Opie, 2004:21). Our selective version of events can endanger our research (Mortimore, 2000) and leads to MacLure's (2003:7) considerations of how we can talk about others in our qualitative research without turning it into a 'them and us situation and without them becoming the 'other''.

In order to collect data from both my teaching colleagues and those in the wider establishment, which was useful and valid, depended on a variety of factors, working at both the subconscious and the conscious level, for both myself and the participants of my study. Both parties held views that underpinned who we were, and whilst, in the case of the other supply staff, we formed part of a homogenous group, this was an externally constructed professional identity, fragmented to suit the demands of the post-modern confines of accountability and audit (Stronach, 2009), with our own personalities and views being internal to ourselves, specific and unique. Thus, our perspectives on the same situation would have more or less

significance for each individual. The representation of others is therefore problematic since it involves my own epistemological impact (Jackson and Mazzei, 2009). For those outside of the supply group but still part of the study the perspectives would be different yet again. The key to unearthing this information lay in how, as a researcher I could gain access to the inner views of the participants, whilst acknowledging the difference in the individual's professional identity, including my own.

According to Stronach (2009), who rather than accept homogeneity of the professional self, deems that we should celebrate instead the difference each of us possess. Stronach posits that the professional self is constructed via methodological reduction, rhetorical inflation, and universal excess. This excess is 'written into the very definition of the professional' (Stronach, 2009:79) and is a result of the growing demand for institutionalised universal standards of service delivery, a situation which overlooks personal characteristics and 'difference', resulting in construction of an emblem 'representative' of the profession or establishment, or referring to Schostak (2002) the social organisation in order to invoke a standardised set or beliefs and actions, creates a set of rules and regulations that all individuals must adhere to. In this way, the individual becomes part of a 'whole' by being placed in the same social or cultural domain of others. Thus, 'whatever reality is, appearances are deceptive', (Schostak, 2002:38). Similar to wearing a mask (representative of the face of acceptability) the individual becomes the project of the Other.

Through acknowledging this stance, I was able to better understand the external professionalism of the individual, the situated performance, the ability of these sometimes conflicting fragmented professional identities and the ability to shift depending on the situation. By understanding this I was better equipped to understand and reflect on my own positioning as researcher and able to formulate questions and strategies which better suit the relationships between the different roles encountered. Ultimately trying to be better placed to unearth the notion of 'truth'.

Acknowledging Shifting Roles and Identities

Action Research should take place from the ground upwards with constant re-framing of questions to try to identify any missing data and there is a responsibility to ensure that the research design does not make unrealistic or arrogant demands of its participants (Mortimore, 2000). Individuals may frame their perceptions on agendas which are important to them, for example, pension changes or changes in NQT qualifying period. All these are obviously out of my control but may contribute to the mind-set of the individual taking part in my research. In this instance more information may be gained from reflection on technique leading to reframing the questions and changing to an unstructured interview from for example, a focus group scenario. This is especially of consequence given that a study by Stronach (2009) found that when teachers found tension within themselves or with the institution's regulations etc., a strategy of resistance/accommodation/compliance/ subversion or bureaucratic cautiousness evolved due to the adoption of a mini-shift in professional identity as described below:

- Teacher as recollected pupil
- Teacher as pressured individual
- The person/teacher I am
- The socialized apprentice
- The coerced innovator
- The convicted professional
- Professional critic
- Sceptical pragmatist
- Etc.

Moreover, this shifting role of participants disturbs the established security as researcher of 'knowing who I am in relation to others' (Schostak, 2002:51) and how others view me. Should the participant adopt a compliant or accommodating role meant that the individual would offer me answers thought to please me, whereas interviewing a participant who was cautious of bureaucracy meant that he or she would err on the side of pleasing the institution, neither situations giving rise to the

participant's own voice. Consequently, speaking to others incurs the continual negotiation and renegotiation of social identities, and forms an important part of getting to the 'truth' on the 'inside' in order to deal with the contradictions and paradoxes of the professional self as described earlier. So it can be said that we only see a 'Representation' of the professional since we only see a surface appearance of the individual at specific time and situation. Applying this knowledge to my intervention begs the question of whether information was given to me as a fellow supply teacher but also a member of the study; as an 'outsider' supply teacher; as a temporary member of staff or as investigator/researcher. Such interpretation contributed to the plausibility and trustworthiness of responses. This uncertainty can be counteracted by not closing down the dialogue but reframing it and the ability to acknowledge different perceptions rather than cut through them makes for wise judgement (Kemmis, 2010:424).

Dealing with the Inside/Outside Dilemma in Action Research

Since 'no one can get into my head and experience what I am experiencing' (Schostak, 2002:93) and bearing the above mini-narratives in mind, the position of myself as researcher meant having to build the trust of the participants in order to view the situation from their individual perspectives. There was a need to explore the boundaries and ensure the participant had input to the discourse without me as researcher dominating or leading it (MacLure, 2003). An example of an 'asymmetrical' discourse is offered by MacLure (2003) in the form of a discussion between teacher and parent during a Parents Evening appointment. The example highlights the fact that although the parent had his/her own view-points the power dynamic was much in the teacher's favour due to the parent being the recipient of 'expert knowledge', alluding to Foucauldian theory of power and knowledge. Whilst MacLure acknowledges this to be a collaboratively structured positioning and a result of situational identity, the danger of this happening in my own intervention was real. Apart from participants adopting a situational identity, what was my own situational positioning when speaking to hitherto unknown members of (permanent) staff? Was my identity compromised when speaking to a higher authority such as the Principal? How to deal with gatekeepers with their own

observational lens and who may have difficulty in acknowledging research from a supply teacher? Through reflection throughout the study and by heeding these questions my aim was to avoid both bias and compromise when dealing with uncertain situations, whilst accepting a diversity of response.

Accessing the 'Space'

It would be naïve to assume that any of us can step into another individual's shoes and experience life's events through their observational lens. Neither empathy nor sympathy can close the distance that exists (Schostak, 2002). This is dramatically illustrated in the 1959 book by John Griffin who, in a ground-breaking piece of research, darkened his skin from white to dark brown in an attempt to live as a Negro in the deep south of America. Despite adopting the appearance, and being deeply affected by hostilities he experienced towards him, there still remained a buffer between his life-long experiences deep within and the new ones he was experiencing, As such, however hard he tried (and his journey is incredible) he was still 'outside' even when 'within'. Whilst his writings lead to further debate about inequality and caused a rupture in the thinking of many (white) Americans, the actuality was that the injustices he experienced were represented through the lens of the white man representing the Negro and not a direct view. Such epistemological issues most certainly give rise to ethical concerns. However, his inner beliefs regarding the marginality of people treated differently purely on grounds of skin colour, and the gap it created, provided an immovable ground for his research and he was able to organise his study accordingly.

Although this example provides a dramatic illustration, as action researchers it is important to understand as fully as possible the lived experience of our research cohort, and construct a way of entering the gap or margin.

The complexities are further compounded by the constraints of the institution. The superficial view, which prompted my action research, appeared to be that supply staff completed the registers in a quick and problem-free manner. However, as participant in the research I was aware that this 'stealth architecture' hides more uncertainty than it revealed (Schostak 2002:109) and the research design had to set

about uncovering the 'truth'. By using this model I could try to establish where gaps appeared and design my research accordingly.

Awareness of the Ethical Principles of Harm and Privacy

Underpinning the choice of intervention were my own values and moral beliefs on the area. Over the course of gathering information and indeed prior to this, I was aware of the ethical obligations I was bound by both from an institutional point of view plus those which my own views had constructed through my own beliefs and personal principles and which affected both myself and other people. Ethical obligations were a constant throughout my research and any issues which were raised needed to be identified and dealt with early on. Hammersley and Traianou (2007) consider the main ethical areas as:

- **Harm** – will this research cause harm to participants?
- **Autonomy** – e.g. can participants make their own choices, especially regarding taking part?
- **Privacy** – e.g. will the research be made public?
- **Reciprocity** – e.g. should participants be remunerated for giving up their time?
- **Equity** – Treating everybody equally.

Clearly, the issues covered by ethics in research are vast but views on how various principles should be addressed are varied and in some cases quite conflicting (Hammersley and Traianou, 2007). This can be noted when comparing Humphrey's (1970) view that ethics are situational to that of Wellington (2000) who posits that the main consideration in research should be ethical. Alongside this difference in views, Hobson and Townsend (2010) note that perhaps whilst codes of ethics regarding educational research are fairly universal, certain principles may not be achievable, desirable or compatible in specific circumstances, thus individual researchers must consider the competing ethical and methodological issues and produce an ethically and methodologically defensible position. For example, the use of covert observation during educational research (including action research) is discouraged by many organisations including BERA (2011), who guidelines state

that such a practice can only be justified if this the only way that data can be collected or the research is such that any overt observation could jeopardise the welfare of the researchers involved in the study.

Whereas this situation was not applicable to my action research, I was keenly aware that my dual role of supply teacher and researcher could have caused some tensions, for example, in the area of confidentiality, or indeed, since one of the goals of my research was to improve my own situation, there could be a conflict of role priority (Hammersley and Traianou, 2007) giving rise to a clash in ethical stance and judgement. Being aware of my ethical positioning and its boundaries at all times was paramount to avoid any potential dilemmas occurring, but due to the vast remit of ethics, I will briefly discuss two issues that were of potential concern to my intervention – Privacy and Harm.

With regard to privacy I will include here anonymity and confidentiality as there is some overlap. The overriding concern whatever the situation is to communicate and deal with respondents in an open, democratic and egalitarian manner. Being placed somewhere towards the 'Inside' along the continuum of Insider/Outsider researcher, the data gathering role becomes compromised (Bridges et al., 2007) due to blurring of boundaries, suspicion or trust. In addition, since ethics are situational, ethical principles are a guideline and should be used as a framework with each situation being recognised for its uniqueness and complexity (Somekh and Lewin, 2011), then the opportunity to remain anonymous etc. could be said to only be partly achieved if the research design requires the following up of certain responses. In this respect, by identifying respondents by pre-numbering them, then anonymity and privacy were achieved, with only me as researcher being privy to a named list which was not distributed elsewhere. As a distinct professional group, however, it was clear which persons could have been part of the cohort of respondents, although the sending and retrieval of questionnaires via email enhanced privacy for some respondents.

Confidentiality within an interview was of utmost importance, especially given the dual role of teacher/researcher. This duality of roles is also a contentious issue for

Hammersley (1993), although this is more with regard to his perception that teachers are somehow less rigorous in research than outsiders to the classroom. I feel that the interview/confidentiality issue, in particular, reflects the personal ethics of the researcher especially given that such data is translated by the researcher and is therefore open to misinterpretation or being written up in a way that the respondent is easily identifiable should the research be made public. If a participant has waived the right to anonymity then: 'it is the researchers' interest to have such a waiver in writing' (BERA, 2011). However, should this compromise the privacy of others then this should not be allowed. There was no cause in this intervention for the compromising of privacy for claims of public interest or 'right to know', and data gathering was reliant on 'agreement, mutual understanding and unforced consensus'. (Kemmis, 2010:424).

The definition of 'harm' as described by BERA (2004) and which declares that research should immediately desist should the researcher notice that the participant is suffering harm or distress either emotionally or physically, is contested by Penn and Soothill (2007). They claim that the ethical stance adopted by BERA is dependent on a medical model which is totally inappropriate to the needs of the social sciences since it relates to harm done to participants (usually patients) who may or may not be aware of the consequences of participating in research. Interestingly, BERA guidelines (2011:7) have not been updated on this issue. Such guidelines are not clear on the difference between ethical and legal issues (Somekh and Lewin, 2011; Wellington 2000 or Howe and Moses, 1999) due to the nature of the quasi- legal language adopted. The latter also note the dependence on borrowing frameworks from medical research but justify this by acknowledging that codes of ethical conduct for social and educational researchers are fairly recent.

Factors, including deception or withholding information about the research, can cause emotional harm but can be avoided by the researcher adopting a strategy of honesty, but this would be dependent on the strength of individual ethics. Howe and Moses (1999) use the example of Laud Humphrey's 'Tearoom Sex' case to illustrate the fallout of adopting a less than honest stance during social research.

The ethic of 'doing no harm' should also aspire to 'do good' (Somekh and Lewin, 2011) and be of benefit to the participants. In my research, participants saw the perceived outcome as beneficial to themselves. Moreover, the concept of 'rolling consent' or a continual renegotiation throughout the project and the belief that is unethical to withhold information from respondents was appropriate for my research.

Despite the ethical minefield, Howe and Moses (1999) emphasise that this does not mean that qualitative methodology (renaming it 'advocacy research'), should warrant stricter scrutiny as such, but that the social and political discourses under which it operates means that researchers should be prepared to defend what their research is for in order to be truly ethical.

Conclusion

By identifying some of the issues I encountered during my intervention and discussing them in relation to theory and methodological frameworks, I hope to have critically addressed some of the difficulties surrounding practitioner research. Drawing from literature and researcher examples, I have attempted to illustrate the importance of being able to craft a methodological design specific to professional concerns. Whilst, the quest for gathering reliable evidence and data may be hampered by fragmented professional identities (Stronach, 2009) the acknowledgment of applicable methodology (e.g. Schostak's Stealth Model) should be used to access the margin or gap created whilst acknowledging that data analysis and reflectivity is part of the research plan and influences future data collection and reframing. In other words, 'data collection is formative not summative' (Wellington, 2000:134). I have attempted to illustrate how epistemological views are formed, how they influence research design and weave along with ethics throughout the project. I have acknowledged that epistemology affects the practice of speaking for others and should not lead to misguided notion of self-privilege of more correctly understanding another person's position (Jackson and Mazzei, 2009). By contrasting a critical realist approach against a positivist one enabled me to get a clearer view of the benefits of the former paradigm and its

relevance to my own research, although I feel that to subscribe fully to any particular paradigm reduces my 'openness' to investigating alternative channels and reduce my willingness to challenge my own paradigm.

Furthermore, by demonstrating that assumptions and perceptions are open to challenge I have attempted to convey the notion that Action Research, unlike quasi-scientific experiments or quantitative methodologies allows for the exploration of the many gaps and spaces found between the gaze of the researcher and its focus (Schostak, 2002) or the gap between the mini identities (Stronach, 2009) and allows us to use these as a productive arena from which to draw evidence.

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Appendix J: Extracts from Agency Workers Regulations 2010 – supplementary guidance relating to agency supply teachers

Page 4 – The hirer. According to the Agency Workers Regulations, the 'hirer' is a 'person engaged in economic activity, public or private, whether or not operating for profit, to whom individuals are supplied, to work temporarily for and under the supervision and direction of that person'.

A 'hirer' will have its own legal identity and is responsible for supervising and directing the agency worker while they undertake the assignment. The question of who is the hirer is a matter of fact to be determined in the light of the circumstances of each case.

Page 5 – The role of the hirer

If you hire temporary agency workers through a temporary work agency, you should provide your agency with up-to-date information on your terms and conditions so that they can ensure an agency work receives correct and equal treatment as if they had been recruited directly, after 12 weeks in the same job. Hirers are also responsible for ensuring all agency workers can access their facilities and can view job vacancies from the first day of their assignment.

Page 6 – Exemptions from the Agency Workers Regulations

The definition of agency worker excludes individuals if there is a contract under which the hirer is a client or customer of a profession or business undertaking carried on by the individual (regulation 3(2)). People in this category are outside the scope of the AWR. The Department's view is that the relationship between hirers and agency teachers is not a 'business to business' relationship but that agency teachers are under the supervision and direction of the hiring school. Therefore the AWR apply the agency teachers. However, the Department can only advise on the interpretation of the regulations and it is for the Courts to make an authoritative decision on whether an agency teacher is excluded from the definition of an agency worker.

Page 7 – Cover supervisors and teaching assistants

The relevant rate of pay is determined by the nature of the job, not the qualifications of the teacher.

For example, if a school asks a temporary work agency to provide a Cover Supervisor or a Teaching Assistance, and the person engaged to do the work is a qualified teacher they would be expected to carry out the role of a cover supervisor or teaching assistant. The role of a cover supervisor is to supervise a class in carrying out a pre-prepared exercise but it does not involve teaching a class. If, however, the person is asked to do specific work as part of this role then after the qualifying period, they must be paid as outlined below.

If the school askes a temporary work agency to supply a teacher to do specific work in a school and the person engaged to do the work is a qualified teacher they should be paid as a qualified teacher.

Academies, free schools and independent schools are free to set their own terms and conditions of employment. As such if a temporary workers' agency is asked to supply a teacher to one of these schools it will need to request information from the school as to the relevant terms and conditions to be applied to the agency supply teacher after twelve weeks in the same role with the same hirer.